STRATEGY AFTER NORTH AFRICA

BY COLONEL T.

NEW MASSES

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THE SEARCH FOR A PLAN

BY EARL BROWDER

America is discussing the need for over-all, centralized planning to win the war. Outlines for a program. First of two articles.

MY CONVOY BEAT THE BOMBS

BY K. K. OWEN

IS THERE ANOTHER GERMANY?

BY SAMUEL SILLEN

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"... TOWARD THE KILL"

Already the earth trembles beneath the fascist beast as America and its allies sweep into the offensive. "The end of the beginning." The main objective. Beware the defeatists' change of strategy. By the editors.

THE preface to the second front begun so auspiciously in North Africa is well on the way to completion. As the pincers of a two-front war close on Rommel's fleeing troops, the American people, in common with the peoples of all countries, are beginning to turn their thoughts to the far greater pincers that must close on Hitler and his fascist Axis. One gigantic prong is already in existence—the Soviet Front. Maj. George Fielding Eliot points out in the New York *Herald Tribune,* as did NEW MASSES in its last issue, that the magnificent resistance of Stalingrad made possible the successful launching of the Allied offensive in North Africa. What remains is to construct the other prong of this vast pincers, a prong that exists in embryo in the British Isles and in the conversion of North Africa from an Axis base into a United Nations' base.

In the midst of the successes in Africa comes news of the magnificent naval victory in the Solomons. In what was probably the greatest naval engagement in the war, a formidable Japanese armada, attempting to recapture Guadalcanal, has suffered overwhelming defeat. This victory and the advances being made by General MacArthur's troops in New Guinea, strengthen the perilous Allied positions in the South Pacific and lessen the danger of an invasion of Australia. And they help give us greater freedom of movement for concentrating our principal energies on a smashing blow at the center of Axis power, Nazi Germany.

The War Changes

What makes the African offensive so significant is not merely that it provides a new base for operations against the main fascist bastion, but that it introduces a qualitative change in the war. In the words of Stalin's new letter to Henry C. Cassidy of the Associated Press: "... the campaign in Africa means that the initiative has passed into the hands of our allies, the campaign changes radically the political and war situation in Europe in favor of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition." Stalin's positive estimate of the African offensive is itself a factor of great importance, for it signifies the elimination of past differences and the consolidation of the American-Soviet-British alliance, widening the prospect for the coordination of strategy.

Heartening, too, are the clear indications from high official sources in the United States and Britain that Rommel is merely small fry and that the main objective of the African offensive is the securing of new positions for the launching of a continental invasion. And Prime Minister Churchill has pointed out that the advance into Africa is not a substitute for an invasion from the West, but that the attack will be made both from the South and the West. He also told Parliament that "should the enemy become demoralized, at any moment, the same careful preparations [for an invasion from the West] will not be needed."

We believe that Churchill exaggerates the difficulties of a western invasion, which would strike at the point closest to Germany. And he himself admits that the Nazis have had only thirty-three divisions (about 500,000 men) in the West, more poorly equipped than the British and American soldiers in the United Kingdom who must have numbered prior to the African offensive 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 men. Yet all this is water over the dam. Fortunately Russia has been able to hold, and no useful purpose is served by continuing a controversy which events have already rendered obsolete. Churchill has provided us with a most useful strategic conception: the advance into Africa and the invasion preparations in the British Isles as two sectors of a single potential front. The job ahead is to realize to the full the possibilities that exist in both sectors and to launch the liberating forces on the continent as quickly as possible.

There are, unfortunately, a few people who seem determined to stir up the fires of old controversy by making it appear that the millions in this country who demanded the opening of a second front in Europe in 1942 had been barking up the wrong tree, that events have made fools of them and in future they ought to shut up. This is, if not downright malicious, exceedingly superficial. On the contrary, events have proved the rightness of those who helped create among the American and British peoples that offensive spirit which today can be counted on to support to the utmost, no matter what the sacrifice, every effort to come to grips with the enemy. It is clear from both President Roosevelt's and Prime Minister Churchill's exposition of the background of the African offensive that American-British strategy, instead of having been hard and fixed, as so many of the so-called experts told us, was in an exceedingly fluid state, at least until the end of June. Not till then was it decided to organize the African offensive rather than concentrate on the original plan of an invasion of western Europe.

Moreover, in the speech Churchill made to our Congress on his visit here shortly after Pearl Harbor, he declared that not until 1943 would the Allies be able to take the initiative. Yet the fact is that the initiative has already been taken in 1942. Is it not reasonable to suppose that the great movement for a second front in England and America had something to do with speeding this up? That offensive operations did not assume the precise form that so many millions favored is a secondary matter and does not in the least minimize the significance of the action that has been taken. The moral to be drawn from the historic turn in the war is not the anti-democratic injunction that the people shut up and leave everything to the experts, but, on the contrary, that they increase their participation in every aspect of the war in order to help our political and military leaders develop this splendid "end of the beginning" into the beginning of Hitler's end.

Role of the Peoples

In the strengthening of our offensive efforts and the weakening of the Axis the peoples of conquered Europe and of the colonial countries have a most important role to play. In the African offensive we have for the first time begun to wage political warfare in a serious way. President Roosevelt's broadcast to the French people was official recognition that these people are no mere pawns of those who happen to be temporary masters of their country, but have a role to play in their own liberation. Also of great significance are the direct approaches being made to the Italian people in an effort to secure their cooperation. This began even before the African invasion in the action of our Department of Justice in lifting from

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Italian non-citizens in this country the stigma of "enemy aliens" —an action which had wide repercussions among the Italian people in their homeland as well as here. The recent broadcasts in Italian by Mayor LaGuardia and Assistant Secretary of State A. A. Berle's appeal to the Italian people to throw off their Nazi and fascist masters are all part of the process of undermining the none too solid Mussolini regime from within in preparation for a possible invasion of Italy. Virginio Gayda, Mussolini's ersatz Goebbels, has written an article in the Italian press with the title "Can Italy Lose the War?" The question comes not from Gayda, but from the people. We must continue to help them give an emphatic affirmative answer.

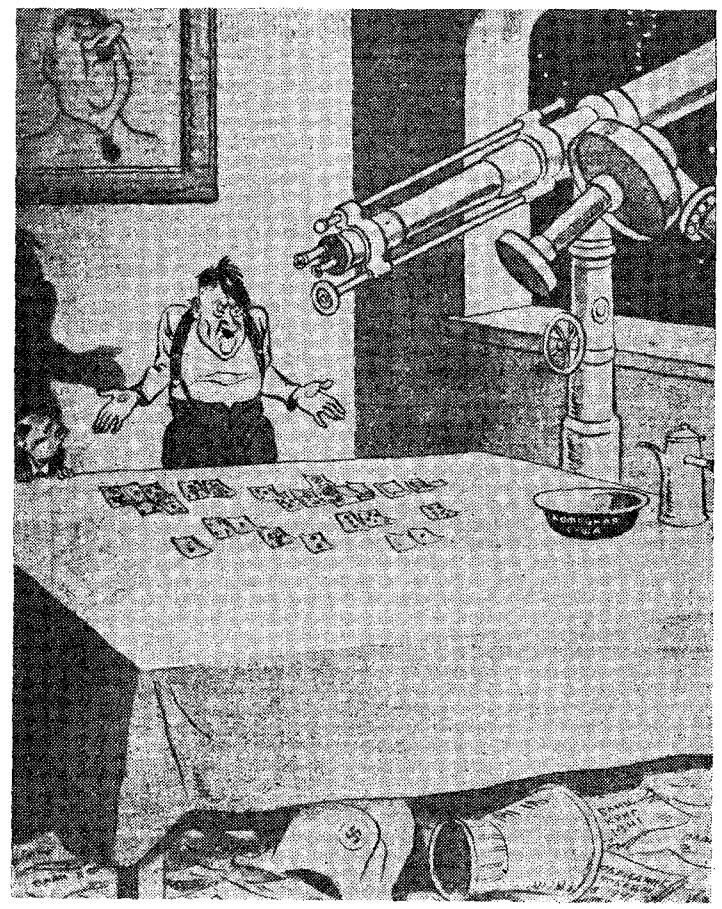
What About France?

This is all to the good. In regard to France, however, it remains to be seen whether the excellent beginning made by the President will be further developed. Secretary of State Hull has issued a statement attempting an *ex post facto* rationalization of our appeasement policy toward Vichy. No one will take seriously his argument that this policy made possible the "maintenance of close relations with the French people and encouragement of leadership in opposition to Hitler wherever it exists," or that it helped in "keeping alive the basic concepts of freedom of the French people." It did the very opposite. Hull's most serious points are that the Vichy policy enabled us to get confidential information from France and French Africa and that it helped pave the way for the African offensive. Since the Vichy policy began some two years before the first plans were made for the African offensive, the latter argument is not too convincing. As for the claims that this policy enabled us to get confidential information, one might as well argue on the same grounds that it would be well to maintain diplomatic relations with Germany, Italy, and Japan. The question of what we got out of our relations with Vichy must be considered in relation to what Hitler got—what he got from a policy which helped confuse, discourage and demobilize the French people and enabled him to maintain valuable espionage centers on American soil in the Vichy embassy and consulates. And we have a hunch that the Fighting French through their own contacts could have furnished us with at least as valuable information as did our diplomatic representatives if the State Department had so much as deigned to do more than strike up a nodding acquaintance with them.

In this case we dwell on the past because it is not entirely certain that it is the past. Admiral Darlan, that shadow of a shadow, the Vichy government, has with the agreement of American military commanders in North Africa proclaimed himself protector of French interests in North Africa. Darlan's switching of sides, after having been one of the most loyal collaborators in Hitler's crimes against the French people, is not difficult to explain; when the ship begins to sink, certain unpleasant members of the animal kingdom can be expected to desert. There is every reason to make use of Darlan if he will, for whatever motives, help our cause. But let us make certain that we do not permit this discredited politician to use us in order to resurrect a new Vichy, obstruct the preparations for opening a second front in Europe, and short-circuit the activity of the French people at the very moment when they are springing to join us in the great struggle against Hitlerism. It is not so much a question of recognizing de Gaulle, though he has become the symbol of French resistance, as of recognizing the French people, putting our main reliance in them, and helping to unify all the patriotic forces of France. If we do that, the arrangements with Darlan—about whose present role it is impossible as yet to pass final judgment—will drop into their proper place in the larger scheme of things and cease to be a source of either great hope or danger.

For the American people the important thing is to keep their eye on the ball and not be diverted from the strategy of victory: the crushing of the Hitler dictatorship in the vise of a two-front war. Already the African offensive has had salutary domestic effects: the defeat of all efforts to cripple the bill lowering the draft age to eighteen, and the action taken by the heads of four committees of the Senate and House in opening a drive for legislation to establish centralized planning of our war economy. But the African offensive has also been the signal for the enemy within, the appeasers and defeatists, to redouble their machinations. A shocking example of this was the recent broadcast of Representative Maas of Minnesota, which has led to a demand for a Congressional investigation. At the very moment when America and Britain have seized the initiative from Hitler, Maas has come out with an attack on this strategy and a demand for concentrating on Japan, a strategy that would lead to certain defeat and the betrayal of our boys fighting so valiantly in the Solomons. "It will make little difference in the end who wins in Europe, we or Hitler," Maas said, "if Japan wins in the Pacific"—though the fact is that if Hitler wins in Europe we must inevitably lose in the Pacific as well, lose the very independence of our country. And Maas' racist talk about "the white man's civilization," with its insult to our Chinese allies and to 13,000,000 American Negroes, only underscores his pro-fascist leanings.

Maas and his kind, together with the defeatist McCormick-Patterson and Hearst press, may be counted on to do everything they can to delay and divert the opening of the second front in Europe. This would mean the sacrifice of many thousands of additional American lives and the grave risk of losing the war. We do not stand alone in the Pacific, any more than we do in Europe and Africa. China, India, and Australia are our allies, and together with them we can hold and even push back the Japanese while the main blow is prepared in Europe. The African offensive foreshadows the doom of Japanese fascism no less than of German-Italian fascism. We have only just begun to fight, but already the earth trembles beneath the fascist beast as America and all its allies move toward the kill.



Boris Efimov

"I do not know when the war will end. I do not know how the year 1942 will end."—Excerpt from a recent Hitler speech.

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FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

FROM NORTH AFRICA TO—

How the Allied forces can get at the "soft belly" of Europe. Results of the offensive so far—and next steps.

"THE creation of a second base" is a much more appropriate name for the African offensive than "the creation of a second front" as some have rashly dubbed it. Africa is being transformed into a base for offensive operations against the "soft belly" of Europe—i.e. against its southern area, whether it be Spain, southern France, Italy, or the Balkans. Thus the United Nations will have three key bases for this global war: the British Isles, Africa, and Australia. With the Soviet Union and China forming the center of anti-Axis military action, the forces of the Axis can be crushed between that center and the pressure of the other Allies from the outside—*provided* offensive action does emanate from those three key bases.

The great base in the British Isles has not provided such offensive action since the popular demand for a second front was first voiced openly in October 1941 (*not* in July 1942, as it has been said by some). Nothing emanated from it except sporadic air sorties, Commando raids, and the Dieppe test.

The Australian base, with the related positions in New Guinea and the Solomons, has done its best under very difficult circumstances and, although not much territory was wrested from the Japanese, at least they were heavily engaged, mauled, and held.

The British base and the Australian base are roughly 12,000 miles apart. That huge gap had to be filled in order to tighten the encirclement of the Axis. And encircle we must, and organize a blow aimed at the heart of the enemy. There is no choice. *Entweder, oder*—as the Germans put it.

AFRICA had to be taken in hand. In our way stood Rommel with his four German and several Italian divisions (it is said there were as many as eleven Italian divisions in Africa). This represented a total of some 150,000 men. Here Allied strategists readily recognized the utter necessity to open a "second front," but in miniature, against Rommel.

It has been reported that General Alexander amassed between thirty and forty Imperial divisions in Egypt for his initial blow at Rommel on October 22. Thus the British here had accumulated a superiority of 4:1 in men; we do not know what the actual superiority in machines was, but we know that the Allies right from the start had almost complete mastery in the air. The luftwaffe did not even attempt to hit back strategically and confined itself to tactical resistance over its own objectives when these were attacked. It was much too busy on the Eastern Front.

Allied submarines and bombers intensified their actions against Rommel's supply line from Italy and it seems that hardly a ship or tank reached him during that crucial period. During the second week General Montgomery's offensive cracked the El Alamein line and Rommel's headlong retreat toward Libya began. At the same time rumors began to spread about "monster" Allied convoys concentrating at Gibraltar. This must have made Rommel "look over his shoulder" and finally decide to begin the race for Tripoli and Tunisia, in order at least to try and hold this vital bulge as a bridgehead in Africa for the Axis.

On November 7, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Soviet Union, General Eisenhower's great armada swept on the shores of Africa like a huge tidal wave. It has been said that it consisted of 500 ships escorted by 350 war craft. The number of men and engines of war it carried is, of course, unknown, but it has been reported that General Anderson's First British Army, which forms a part of Eisenhower's force, numbers about 150,000 men. Now, if a British general is subordinated to an American general, it most certainly means that that there are more American troops in the expedition than British. So it is safe to assume that the men under General Eisenhower's command total not less than 400,000. Maybe 500,000.

The two Allied arms of the African pincers, consisting of 500,000 men each (this is a very approximate figure), race toward each other and should crush the remnants of Rommel's force, meeting somewhere in Tripolitania.

THE assembly, organization, transport, and timing of the expedition is probably one of the greatest feats in staff work. Preparatory work by Gen. Mark Clark and his associates, who went into Algeria and "greased the ways" for the expedition that was to come several months later, deserves to form the theme for a fascinating adventure book.

There was little fighting except at Casablanca, where the French fleet offered some opposition. Elsewhere logistics rather than battle tactics carried the way. Key French officers had been "prepared" well in advance and in some instances the gates of forts were simply opened to the American commanders. This is encouraging as far as future operations in Europe are concerned because it proves that *not all troops on the other side of the fence will fight.*

At this writing (November 15) the hub of the strategic situation is in Tunisia, that protuberance which juts out into the Mediterranean toward Sardinia and Sicily and forms the central bottleneck in that sea, only ninety miles wide between Cape Bon and Sicily and 144 miles wide between Bizerte and Sardinia.

The situation in Tunisia is confused. Around Tunis French troops are reported to be carrying out Darlan's orders to "resist aggression" and are fighting the air-borne German troops which are being sent from Sicily to strengthen the defenses of Tunisia. General Anderson's troops, having established themselves on the western border of Tunisia, are pushing patrols into the country. Anderson's objective probably is to cut southeastward across Tunisia to Gafsa and Gabes and occupy the so-called Mareth line which faces Tripoli, so as to prevent the remnants of Rommel's forces from joining the German troops in Tunisia, thus strengthening its defenses.

It would seem logical to assume that all of Northern Africa will be in Allied hands within a matter of weeks. This also means that Dakar will be cut off from all overland communications with the Axis centers and will have to fall to the Allies like a ripe plum, with negotiations taking the place of fighting.

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And so the time is not far off when we will control the entire southern shore of the Mediterranean. Instead of being covered by enemy aviation from both shores, this sea lane will be covered by our aviation from the southern shore and by enemy aviation from the northern shore. We will have harbors and air bases and a *place d'armes* on its southern shore. The enemy will have the same things on the northern shore. However, the enemy's installations will be only a few hundred miles overland from the heart of the Axis—Berlin—while ours will be 1,200 miles from London and 4,000 miles from New York.

The strategic situation in the western Mediterranean will greatly depend on the disposition of the French fleet at Toulon (it consists of two modern battleships and one old one, four battle cruisers, twenty-five destroyers, twenty-seven submarines, and an aircraft-carrier—a formidable force if in good hands). This squadron can be of more actual use to the Germans than to us, because they, not we, control the stores of ammunition and supplies for it. On the other hand, should the French sailors refuse to fight against us, the Germans will have to take the fleet over and will find themselves in trouble because it takes months to break in crews to run a modern man-of-war. One does not simply get in and drive it like a flivver. It is quite possible, and even probable, that the French fleet at Toulon will remain neutralized as a fighting force of the sea.

And so, at the completion of the African operation we shall be in possession of a huge base of operations with anything between ten and 500 miles of water separating us from our objective. That objective is the "soft belly" of Europe, between Gibraltar and Dede-Agach, in eastern Greece.

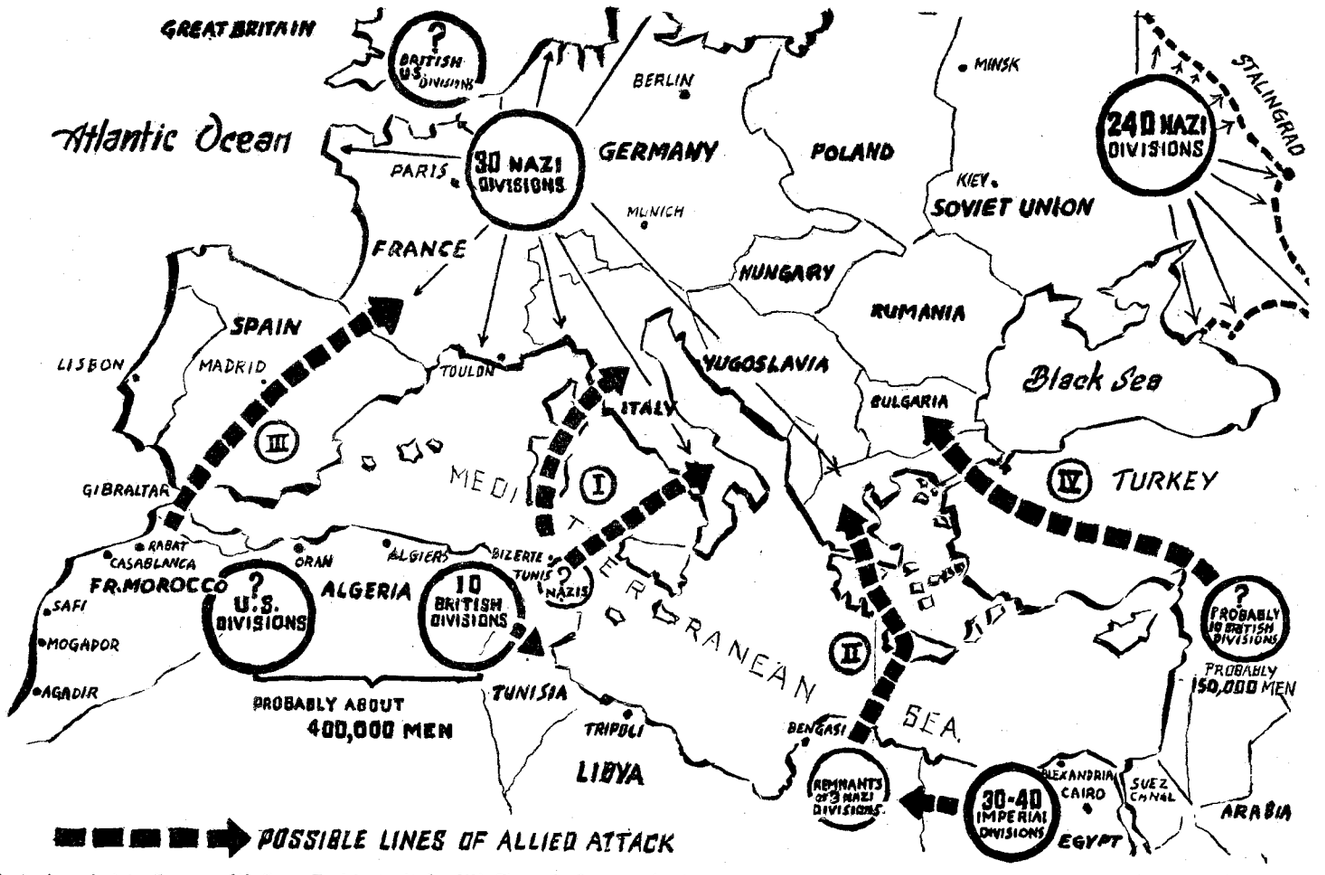
This "soft belly" of Europe is flanked by two neutral countries—Spain and Turkey. Militarily speaking, a march through them simultaneously, forming a great pincers, would be ideal; General Eisenhower crossing over to Gibraltar and marching to the Pyrenees, and General Alexander about-facing after finishing Rommel and counter-marching with part of his forces eastward, picking up the Ninth and Tenth British Armies in the Middle East and appearing on the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, crossing them and jumping off from the Chataldja positions in the strip of European Turkey. But these two countries are neutral, so far.

THIS leaves us two avenues of approach to Europe: from Tunisia to Italy and southern France via the bridge of islands—Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica (Franco has been selling, leasing, and lending his Balearic Islands before, so he might even sell, lend, or lease them to us, for a consideration, of course)—or a blow in Greece.

The southern littoral of France offers but a few sharply defined places where a landing operation can be performed. The so-called Riviera is hardly suitable because there mountains creep up to the very sea and beaches are treacherous. As far as Italy is concerned, the most convenient place for an attack would seem to be the stretch between Genoa and Rome, or the "foot" of the "boot" which for eons has been "kicking" Sicily, but which now could be kicked by Sicily.

An invasion of Greece might be prefaced with a reinvasion of Crete by the very same methods the Germans used when they took it. The Germans now have some thirty divisions available in Europe. Because of winter conditions obtaining already on the Eastern Front, they might be able to remove a score of divisions from the Eastern Front soon to bolster the defenses of the "soft belly" of Europe. The important thing now is to go quickly into the second, active phase of the Mediterranean campaign, i.e. to strike against the Axis on its home ground.

The second front already has been a year late in coming. Time is more than ever of the essence, and the distance from Tunisia to the Brenner Pass, to the Rhine, or to the Danube, is still very great. A perfect beginning has been made, but it is just a beginning.



Springboards into Europe: (I) From Tunisia to Italy. (II) Through Greece. (III) By American forces crossing to Gibraltar and marching through Spain to France while simultaneously (IV) General Alexander's men march through Turkey.

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MARCH OF THE COMMON MAN

The meaning of Vice-President Wallace's recent speech. A historical perspective on the mutuality of interests between America and the Soviet Union. "Ethnic democracy" in this war and in the blueprint of the future. An editorial.

ONE must deeply admire the rich historical perspective which dominates the speeches of Vice-President Wallace. His remarks on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Soviet Union are a sequel to those he made last May. In both instances there was an expression of ideals which the common man has held for centuries; in both speeches he assailed those shortcomings of political policy which in the acid fountain of war can well become the policies of disaster.

Mr. Wallace's sense of history refutes the evil argument that our relations with the Soviet republics are purely accidental, that the needs of victory have thrown us willy nilly into the same bed with Stalin. Those calculating dunderheads who have pressed forward this peculiar thinking have, of course, their own motives. Beginning with apologies for Washington's relations with Moscow, they hint broadly that in time we will revert to old methods in dealing with the Kremlin: the bonds of the moment will be severed during the period of "normalcy." Among a gilded coterie—ranging from Lady Astor in London to Mrs. Evalyn Walsh McLean in Washington, from Major Cazalet in Parliament to Robert Reynolds in the Senate—such talk is as common as worry over the consequences of Hitler's collapse.

Mr. Wallace's reply to them, like his earlier reply to Henry Luce's imperialist adventures in *Life,* repudiates this dangerous conception of our alliance with the Russians. "It is no accident that Americans and Russians like each other when they get acquainted. Both peoples were molded by the vast sweep of a rich continent. Both peoples know that their future is greater than their past. . . . The first person to sense the eventual significance of Russia and the United States was the French author Tocqueville, who 107 years ago wrote: 'There are at the present time two great nations in the world which seem to tend toward the same end, although they start from different points. I allude to the Russians and the Americans. . . . Their starting point is different and their courses are not the same, yet each of them seems to be marked by the will of heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe.'

"Russia and the United States are far closer than Tocqueville could possibly have imagined when he traveled across the United States in 1835. The continental positions of both countries and the need for developing rich resources unmolested from without have caused the peoples of both nations to have a profound hatred of war and a strong love of peace."

Here again was the backward glance into history—("The march of freedom of the past hundred and fifty years has been a long-drawn-out people's revolution.")—which served Mr. Wallace as gauge to the present and the future. And that present and future as the Vice-President sees it, is one in which our country "and Russia [will] be in accord as to the fundamentals of an enduring peace based on the aspirations of the common man. I am here this afternoon to say that it is my belief that the American and Russian people can and will throw their influence on the side of building a new democracy which will be the hope of all the world."

THIS is the genuinely Jeffersonian outlook that permeates the thinking of both Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Wallace. It required bitter experience to arrive at these policies—policies which are the keystone in the arch of the United Nations. They are, of course, not entirely in effect. The logic of the war has given birth to statements which are preludes to the fulfillment of master strategy. The imperatives of armed struggle will develop them further. And Mr. Wallace cites the Soviet Union as an example from which we have much to learn just as he believes that the USSR has much to learn from us.

Mr. Wallace is deeply impressed with the achievements of the Russians in abolishing racial discrimination. "Russia has probably gone further than any other nation in the world in practicing ethnic democracy. From the Russians we can learn much, for unfortunately the Anglo-Saxons have had an attitude toward other races which has made them exceedingly unpopular in many parts of the world. . . . Ethnic democracy, built from the heart, is perhaps the greatest need of the Anglo-Saxon tradition."

While Mr. Wallace projects "ethnic democracy" as part of his blueprint of the "new democracy," he has touched upon a key issue in the struggle for victory. In a week in which the poll tax forces were gathering to filibuster the Geyer-Pepper bill into oblivion, his comment makes clear that the stakes involved in its passage reach beyond the borders of this country and will be taken as a gauge of our attitude toward the colored peoples of the world.

THERE are other planks in Mr. Wallace's platform of the future—educational democracy, a more practical balance between economic and political democracy, democracy in the treatment of the sexes. There can be no disagreement with these objectives. There are, naturally, a number of points regarding which we would not see eye to eye. There are even, perhaps, one or two slight misstatements, if well intentioned ones. These points of divergence are not, however, pivotal. What is of crucial value in Mr. Wallace's address is his perception of the deep-going community of interests between the world's greatest capitalist democracy and the world's first socialist state.

This is the discovery made over and over again the past year and a half which in large measure will spell the difference between a long and short war. There are certain fundamental questions which the Vice-President left unmentioned. Our thinking has had a fragmentary character which does not conform to the necessities of total war. But in so far as Mr. Wallace's speeches (as well as those of Undersecretary of State Welles and Wendell Willkie) rouse a determined people to still greater efforts, in so far as his utterances reveal shortcomings that must be quickly eradicated, he has made a valuable contribution which reflects the views of leading government leaders and in turn further defines the direction of the war.

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WHAT HAPPENED AT BOSTON

The CIO pledged "to give everything, in fighting men, in production, in money, and in patriotism" to guarantee the second front. "The crying need for over-all, centralized planning."

Boston.

SOMEBODY here said the happenings at the CIO convention will be worth battles in the war. They will. The unity of all factions behind a victory program, and all that that connotes, will crystallize itself in more shells, more guns, more planes, more of everything that spells Hitler's doom.

The 500-odd delegates representing 5,000,000 members in forty-two international unions have good reason to be proud of their work. They were aware of the great responsibilities facing them in this, their first convention in wartime. They knew there were urgent problems confronting labor and the country that needed exploration, analysis, and solution. They tackled every important question in a constructive manner and came out with the right answers—right because, combined, they added up to a realistic win-the-war program.

The CIO sees the crying need of the moment as over-all, coordinated, centralized planning. That was a major theme in Pres. Philip Murray's report. It was the thesis of several important resolutions. It was the subject of Senator Pepper's magnificent address which brought a tremendous ovation.

The chief resolution on this subject calls for "total war mobilization." It states the need: "Victory in the war against the enemies of our American democracy requires the fullest use of all our national war production resources—our raw materials, our farmlands, our industrial facilities, and our human resources." The second part indicates how in each instance the full use of these resources has not been attained.

What must be done? The resolution states the remedy: "National mobilization demands a nationwide planning and utilization of all the material and manpower resources of the nation. Such a national mobilization requires a centralized administrative control of all of the resources and economic policies of the nation. . . . A single administrative body should be established incorporating the activities of war supply, war manpower, and of economic stabilization."

From the discussion on the resolution it was plain that the CIO was correct in incorporating a demand for "the participation of labor in all the administrative agencies which make and execute our war policies—and at every level." Reuther of auto, Ruttenberg of steel, Hillman of clothing, Zonarich of aluminum, Curran and Bridges of shipping, all cited specific instances of the appalling chaos resulting from the planless administration of the war effort by the dollar-a-year men who infest the agencies in charge.

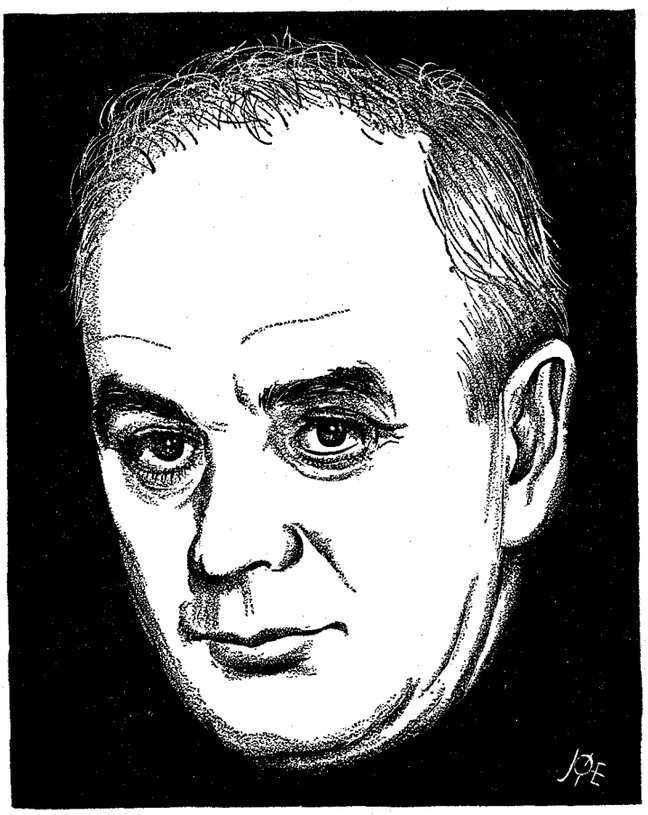
Bridges' illustration was perhaps the most pointed: "Just two weeks ago in the port of San Francisco, CIO waterfront and warehouse workers had to unload and help store a large cargo of Australian wines, champagnes, and brandies that had just come in from Australia. Right across the dock, at the same docks, our men—and we are short of them—were engaged in loading practically a full load on another ship of California wines, champagnes, and brandies to go down to Australia.

"At the same time other ships, waiting to load and transport weapons and materials to the United States Army, were being delayed because there was not sufficient manpower at that time to do the job."

Following such examples of chaos and confusion in the present setup, it was plain that President Murray was right in pointing out that labor's demand for full participation in the planning and administrative agencies was not prompted by selfish interest, but rather by a realization that labor's brains, vision, and initiative were essential to the solution of the problem of production.

The realization of the need for integrated over-all planning gave the delegates a key to the understanding of other problems. They were clear on the question of a compulsory drafting of labor. "If we have manpower chaos today due to a lack of planning and centralized total war mobilization, a job freeze merely freezes chaos and outrageous discriminatory practices. . . . We cannot afford to think of a manpower agency as a sort of fire department and emergency squad. We cannot afford to have other agencies proceed in a planless uncoordinated fashion and then rush the manpower agency's squad car to the area of the industry of manpower crisis. Intelligent consideration of manpower mobilization does not involve the issue of compulsory or voluntary operation but rather the formulation of a national mobilization plan."

THE convention opened just two days after American troops landed in Africa. Though one or two invited speakers hailed the attack as "the second front," the delegates made no such mistake. Their own analysis, expressed in a resolution which passed unanimously, was correct: "We hail with great pride the offensive of our American forces in Africa, which in combination with the attack of the Eighth British Army is delivering a mortal blow to the fascist forces of Rommel. This successful two-front attack on the Axis armies in Africa in the words of General Montgomery's Order of the Day '. . . is only the beginning of our task,' and must lead to a speedy two-front attack and complete destruction of the main Nazi forces on the European continent by the combined and overwhelming concentration of the armed might of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union."



Philip Murray

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President Murray was empowered to telegraph the nation's Commander-in-Chief and the commander of the Allied forces in North Africa the acclaim of the CIO for the initiation of the offensive. The official declaration on the second front recognized that the "brunt of the military power of Nazi Germany has been borne by the peoples and armies of the Soviet Union." The epic stand of the Soviet peoples "in the battles of Sevastopol and Stalingrad cannot be measured by words." Honor, too, was paid the peoples of the oppressed countries.

Moved by the spirit of the offensive the convention called upon the Commander-in-Chief "to make any demand and any request of labor" for the fruition of the offensive to establish a second front in Europe. The CIO pledged "to give everything, in fighting men, in production, in money, and in patriotism" to ensure its success.

Every issue that had any bearing on the war was raised, and a forthright, firm stand was adopted. Thus, on the question of international labor unity it was recognized that full collaboration of the trade union movements of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and other United Nations was essential to "secure maximum production to win the war, strengthen the war policies of the United Nations for the complete victory over fascism, and assure a just and democratic peace for all people." It was resolved that all necessary steps be taken to establish that labor cooperation; and, until that is accomplished, arrangements are to be made for the exchange of information, committees, delegations—anything and everything that will strengthen the war effort.

In this connection, the convention got off to a good start when it heard its own sentiments echoed by Bryn Roberts, president of the National Union of Public Employes of Great Britain. Another significant highlight was the exchange of greetings with Nikolai Shvernik, secretary of the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR. Never before had a message from the Soviet trade unions been received at a CIO convention.

The people of India will find comfort in the strongly worded resolution supporting "the aspirations of the Indian people for the national independence needed to mobilize their energies and resources for a full part in the war against Axis aggression." The people who know how vital a part India can play in the war will find comfort in the request to the President of the United States that he exert his influence to secure freedom for the imprisoned Indian Congress leaders, and the resumption of negotiations between representatives of the British government and the Indian people.

THE difference in the discussion on Negro discrimination in this convention and that of the AFL was marked. There was no shadow-boxing here. No show of allowing an A. Philip Randolph to give his annual speech to an audience which promptly applauded a Dan Tobin who answered with a whitewashing of AFL discriminatory practices. Here the debate was not on the fight against any form of racial or religious discrimination, but rather on *how best to implement that fight immediately.*

Resolutions were adopted expressing opposition "to any form of racial or religious discrimination"; they urged the Department of Justice "to prosecute those responsible for recent lynchings and for attacks upon civil liberties," and urged cooperation in the congressional move to end the poll tax.

Compared to CIO conventions in past years this one was colorless. There was very little behind-the-scenes activity, and no factional disputes of any significance. John L. Lewis and his troublemaking henchmen were gone and the attack on him and his defeatist program was made in the open.

But what the convention lacked in excitement it made up in accomplishment. It was the best CIO convention in history. A strong, disciplined body, united in the single purpose of winning the war, wrote a victory program for the nation.

WILLIAM FORREST.

The Underground

THE main supply source for guerrillas is—the enemy army. This goes especially for the guerrilla detachments operating in what was formerly Slovenia and is now divided among Italy, Germany, and Hungary. The Slovene guerrillas had no large stocks of arms left over by the regular Yugoslav army. Guerrilla warfare started in Slovenia only a few months after it had flared up in other parts of Yugoslavia. The Slovenes had not the fighting tradition of the Serbs or the particularly favorable conditions which fostered the outbreak of guerrilla warfare in Dalmatia, Bosnia, and southern Croatia. Yet today the Slovene partisans constitute one of the most active parts of the Yugoslav guerrilla movement. Their bands are led and coordinated by the command of the Slovene Army of Liberation which is directed by the High Command of the Guerrilla and Volunteer Army of Yugoslavia.

Here is the story of how the Slovene guerrillas in the northern part of the country—now under Nazi domination—got their first big supply of automatic weapons and munitions from Austrian railroadmen.

Austrian railroadmen of the depot at Marburg (Maribor) learned of a train loaded with arms and munitions for the newly founded auxiliary corps of the German national group of Croatia called *"Einsatzstaffel."* This corps, composed of members of the German settlements in the "Independent State of Croatia," is supposed to function as a detachment of the Elite Guard forces of the Gestapo command at Zagreb, capital of Croatia. The railroadmen at Marburg got in touch with Slovenian guerrillas operating in the hilly region south of the city. They informed the guerrillas that the supply train would leave on such and such a day, at such and such an hour on the Marburg-Celje-Zagreb line, and that an accident could immobilize the locomotive at any point the partisans deemed favorable for an attack. A plan was worked out, and when the train left the locomotive engineer knew that his engine had to get into trouble at the watchman's lookout number 65. At the appointed spot the trouble developed and the train stopped. The commander of the Nazi escort got suspicious and came over to the locomotive. At that very moment the engineer caused the boiler to explode. The Nazi commander and the engineer perished in the blast. Nazi soldiers came running to the locomotive. Shots rang out of the bushes not far from the track, where guerrilla snipers were hidden. They killed the Nazi escort to the last man. Carts turned up, and men. The train was unloaded with the help of peasants from a nearby village, and then the railroad cars were set on fire.

The guerrillas retreated with their booty according to plan. The Gestapo and the German military command started a hunt for the lost weapons, but the guerrilla detachment had disappeared. Twenty railroadmen of the Marburg station were arrested and subjected to a savage grilling; one of them was killed. But the Gestapo was unable to learn anything from them. Finally it had to transfer all railroadmen of the Marburg-Celje line to service in inner Austria.

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WANTED AT ONCE: A PLAN

Maximum war production, says Earl Browder, requires a central administration which will "plan, direct, guide, and control the entire economy of the nation." The disappearance of everyday market relations.

This is the first of two remarkable chapters on the economics of total war from Earl Browder's newly published book, Victory and After *(International Publishers. $2. Popular edition, 50 cents). These chapters were written during the summer, and since then the idea of centralized, planned organization of our war economy has received new impetus with the publication of the Sixth Interim Report of the Tolan committee. This proposes the establishment of an Office of War Mobilization and a Board for War Mobilization to plan and direct production, the allocation of manpower, and economic stabilization. The Tolan recommendations are embodied in the Kilgore-Pepper bills now before Congress. The recent CIO convention likewise adopted a resolution calling for "a centralized administrative control of all of the resources and economic policies of the nation." And the AFL convention in October urged the creation of an "overall board of military and civilian strategy" to direct our war economy.* NEW MASSES *invites comment from its readers on Mr. Browder's discussion of the problem.—The Editors.*

THE bewilderment of successful businessmen struggling in Washington with the problems of transition to a war economy is something akin to that of Alice when she stepped through the looking-glass. Suddenly everything seems to be the opposite to what it was in the "natural" world, right is turned to left, and all the rules work in reverse. It is no wonder that many have retired with severe headaches. Nothing is quite so painful as a businessman being forced to think along new channels, unless it is a bureaucrat in a similar fix.

New channels of thought are inexorably demanded for the handling of a war economy. The chaos in Washington today is but the sign of that difficult change-over from one set of economic rules to another which is still imperfectly comprehended.

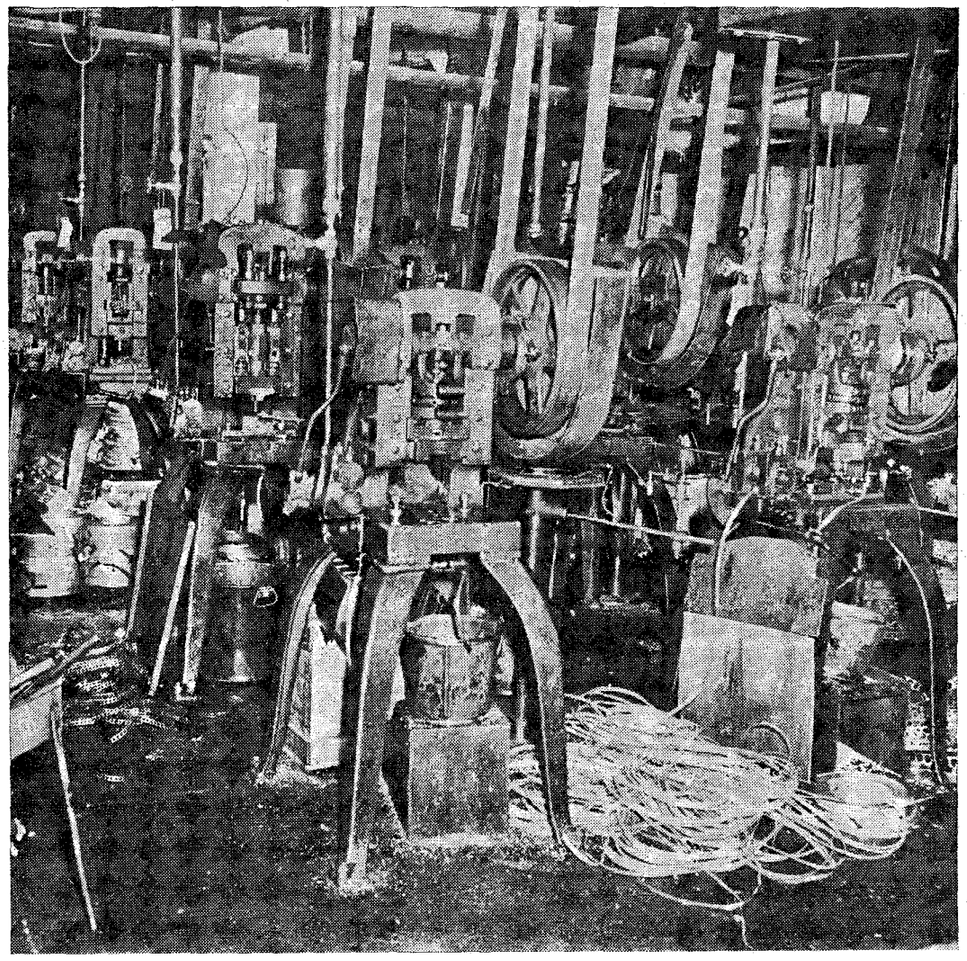
Our economic leaders learned their practice and theory in an economy in which abundance of money automatically commanded an abundance of goods, and the only visible limit to supply was the limit of effective demand, that is, a demand backed up by money.

The war is quickly changing all that. An absolute abundance of money for the war has been appropriated by Congress. It is announced as having passed the $200,000,000,000-mark. Thereby Congress has fortified its conscience, "done its bit" for the war, and can pass on to politics-as-usual. Actually, however, the congressional appropriations mean only one thing—that Congress has handed over to the Executive the complete responsibility and authority for war production. The fetishism of the dollar sign, which sees in appropriations an act solving the economic problem of war, has already demonstrated its emptiness, and is on the way out. The war budget is merely an expression of the unlimited demand of the war for more and more production.

NOW, according to the old rules, such an unlimited demand must immediately result in an unlimited supply. And United States' war plans were actually based upon such ideas. But the cold gray dawn of the morning after a period of such drunken thinking has already dawned. The old rules simply do not work. In fact, they often seem to work in reverse.

As our foremost economic thinkers wake up to this fact, they at once let out a howl about the danger of inflation. An unlimited demand, set over against a limited production, means the skyrocketing of prices and the beginning of the inflation spiral. Whereas previously the greater the demand the cheaper the production, suddenly the rule is reversed and the enormous expansion of demand is steadily pushing up production costs and prices. The economic experts of the New York *Times,* and the National Manufacturers Association, *et al,* see the imminent danger of inflation and see its remedy at the same moment; the remedy is, of course, to suspend the traditional rules in handling wages, the reward of labor in production. They indignantly reject any tampering with the rules of rent, interest, and profit; these are holy, the mainspring of production, without which everything else would come to a halt. But wages do not come under the protection of those who insist on maintaining the rules of the game; that is the field they were always taught to turn to "to take up slack"; and it is out of wages they now propose to stave off inflation.

I have spent several weeks going over the current output of writings on the economic problems of the war. Nowhere have I found anything that begins to provide an over-all



Idle machinery. These punch presses, which could be highly useful in munitions production, gather dust because the plant they're in has received no war contracts. Hundreds of small plants throughout the country are in a similar situation.

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picture of the problem, with the exception of the two memoranda submitted by Mr. Bernard M. Baruch to the Joint Congressional and Cabinet Commission, March 6, 1931, and published by him under the title *Taking the Profit Out of War;* Mr. Baruch's recent discussions as reported in the newspapers; and the reports of the Tolan committee on Migration of Labor which were heavily influenced by Mr. Baruch. The heart of the problem was stated in the Third Interim Report of the Tolan Committee thus:

". . . There is no phase of our economic life which can be unessential in total war. Every phase must be planned, must be guided, must be brought under central administrative control. Total war requires that our vast economic system be operated along the organizational lines of a single industrial plant. Under conditions of maximum war production, everyday market relationships virtually disappear."

Present confusions, lags, bottlenecks, and breakdowns in the war production requirements are in the largest part a result of failure to realize this central truth and to draw the necessary conclusions. There has been an attempt to arrive at some sort of a compromise between the old economy of limited demand and the necessary new war economy, which is an economy of unlimited demand and consequent relative scarcity that can be met only by administrative control of production under plan. The inevitable result of such an attempt to compromise between the two is that the country obtains all the defects of both and the virtues of neither.

The campaign against "business-as-usual" has missed this point entirely. Certainly everyone knows we cannot have business-as-usual, but the big lesson we have to learn now is that we cannot have "business fifty percent as usual" or even "business ten percent as usual," since the entire economy operates under new conditions. In the words of the Tolan committee report, it is literally true that for maximum war production "every phase" of the national economy must be "planned, must be guided, must be brought under administrative control," that "everyday market relationships virtually disappear."

THE system of priorities, by which it has been attempted to establish some initial central control of the nation's economy, has broken down just because it entirely fails to achieve the ends set forth; it relies entirely upon market relationships, over which it attempts to establish a higher direction. It thereby creates confusion in the marketing process, but introduces no new element of direction. Priorities systems *are not planning at all,* and they are *guiding* only in a negative way.

Maximum war production requires a central administration which will plan, direct, guide, and control *the entire economy of the nation.* Until we begin to build such a central administration the nation will be simply muddling along, setting up one makeshift only to scrap it and put another in its place, *ad nauseam.*

It is an extremely interesting question, why, among all the government agencies concerned with the national economy, was it the Tolan committee which came most directly to the heart of the whole national economic problem?

The answer undoubtedly is: that just because the Tolan committee was basically charged with the study of the limited problem of *migration of labor,* it unerringly was directed by the nature of its special job to the heart of the general problem. For the problem of maximum war production is fundamentally and decisively a problem of the organization and distribution of labor. All the other government agencies which wrestle with the nation's economy have missed their central problem just because labor has been a peripheral factor in their thought and not the central one. The symbol of the dollar has overwhelmed their minds, which are grooved to the mechanism of control through finance, and the symbol of man-hours of labor has been dealt with only as a subordinate technical factor like kilowatt hours of electrical energy. That is why today, in the ninth month of our country's total war commitment, there is an alarming number of workers and machines *unemployed* in the country. More, many more, are producing for the war, but this has been achieved only at the cost of enormous and unnecessary dislocations of the total economy which already threatened dire political repercussions in the populations affected.

THE disappearance of "everyday market relationships" is already taking place, but in a chaotic and disorganized manner, while the central administration of economy by plan is not taking its place. That is the reality of danger behind the panic cries about inflation which arise from the traditionally minded economists.

There can be no inflation under a well organized central administration of the nation's economy as a whole. And there can be no avoidance of inflation without such an administration. For inflation is merely the registration of the breakdown of an economy in which the market has disappeared as the regulating medium, and administration has not been set up to take its place.

The key mechanism for the central administrative control of economy is *rationing.* But this is not the rationing system already known to the American public, which is only the first step in the direction of a *rationed consumption.* It is the *ration system* in the field of production of which we now speak, a rationing of materials and labor according to plan, designed to allocate a production task to every available man and machine, without regard to market relationships.

There is nothing impossible about this. The technique is well known, and the technicians are available. As a technical problem it is merely the extension of the system, by which the great trusts were built, to cover the entire economy of the country. The difficulties in the way are not technical ones; they are the difficulties of obtaining the effective decision to do the job. Unwillingness boldly to tackle this job is what prevents it from being done. This unwillingness is so strong that it may possibly require a major disaster to push the nation into it. But exactly that job will be done, because it is the only path which will bring anything approaching maximum war production; it is the only way to have a continuously functioning economy at all for the whole war period.

Let us glance, for a moment, at the main outlines of the course of war production under the existing system. Unfortunately we do not have the latest results of the Tolan Committee investigations, which have not been printed as yet; they would be more convincing because they cover the first months of the official war period.* But we already know that there has been no change in the basic outline of facts as revealed in the Third Interim Report. That report showed that at the end of 1941 the distribution of war production contracts among the existing manufacturing establishments was as follows:

174,000 establishments have no contracts whatever; 10,000 have prime or subcontracts, of which 100 hold eighty-three percent of all contracts, among which ten have almost half of the total.

The report says: "The evidence shows that as a result of inadequate production planning and procurement, many communities throughout the nation are faced with economic deterioration and disintegration. Tens of thousands of small business firms are being forced to shut down. Pools of unemployed are gathering throughout the country. Haphazard migration of these unemployed has already begun."

The great majority of manufacturers and their workers are demanding the opportunity to engage in war production. They are denied the opportunity, and even denied the possibility to produce for civilian purposes. Meanwhile, the great corporations which hold the bulk of all contracts are spending much time and materials setting up new plants to fill those contracts, while existing plants stand idle.

Some emergency steps are already being forced upon Washington by political pressure to give some relief to this intolerable situation. Such emergency measures are necessary, but for our basic argument they are unimportant since they in no way change the nature of the system which has produced the impossible situation revealed in the above quoted figures.

IT IS sometimes argued that this is the inevitable result of placing production contracts with the largest and most efficient production units, and that this is necessary no matter what harmful by-products it may bring in its train. No doubt the largest and most efficient units of production must first of all be set to

*Mr. Browder's comment was written prior to the publication of the Tolan committee Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Interim Reports.

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work before production can be spread to the smaller units. But what we see is that, after more than a year of supposedly maximum transition to war production, this spreading to the smaller units is not taking place in any considerable degree. Instead, there is actually a dismantling and destruction of productive capacity.

In short, the process of transition to a war economy which is being followed is the most wasteful, the most chaotic, the slowest, the most destructive of civilian morale, that could well be imagined.

MANY liberals explain all this in part as the result of undue influence of the "dollar-a-year" men, the representatives of the industrialists who are working, in the first place, for their own concerns and, incidentally, for the government. I cannot go along with our liberal friends in their war cry against the "dollar-a-year" men in general. I do not doubt that many of the crimes that they charge are true, and such matters require stern handling. But to see nothing else means

They need a plan. Donald Nelson (below), head of the War Production Board, and Sen. James Murray of Montana (above), chairman of the special Senate Committee on Small Business.

to miss the main problem. If every businessman and every executive who goes to Washington has a patriotism as pure as the driven snow and if he has left behind him every consideration of personal interest he wouldn't be able to do a job much better than is now being done unless a system of direction, planning, and control were instituted; it is not possible to separate the sheep from the goats as long as the sheep produce the same harmful effect as the goats. And as long as there is no plan and no planned economy and no establishment of an administrative system which really takes control of the economy as a whole, then whether you have good men or bad men isn't going to make very much difference in the long run. They are all going to produce much the same kind of chaos that we have today. And therefore in considering economic questions I refuse to worry too much about the bad "dollar-a-year" man because, except for certain fifth columnist and defeatist elements who are opposing and obstructing the nation's war effort, I can't tell who is good and who is bad until we have a system with a direction to test them by. As long as they are left there with nothing except their own past experience to go on, they will inevitably go wrong because their past experience was no preparation for the solving of the problems of a war economy.

It is not a question of good managers or bad managers, of "dollar-a-year" men against career men or of patriots against profiteers. Those questions can become real only after we have a direction clearly set, an over-all plan laid down, and the men can be judged by the quality of their service to that plan. As long as they are left planless, the search for the bad men or the good men is going to be as aimless as the hunt for a needle in a haystack.

It is not the result of the "bickering and quarreling and jealousies and rivalries" among the various government agencies, as the newspaper columnists-pundits so sagely advise us, for these ugly manifestations of Washington life are the result and not the cause of the breakdown of our makeshifts of war economy.

It is not the incipient inflation already showing itself which is choking our war production effort, but the lack of a real central administration of economy, based upon plans enforced by rationing and fixed prices (with the big stick in reserve), while inflation is the result of the breakdown, not the cause. (Of course, the further development of inflation will react to intensify the break-down, but that must not be permitted to hide the real starting point.)

The truth must be faced that much of the governmental apparatus set up from Washington to handle economic questions is not only useless but much of it is positively harmful, because it has no organic connection with production and becomes more and more an obstructive parasite. It neither plans, nor guides, nor controls, but only imposes certain demands upon the course of production. It cannot develop into something better because there is no working concept of management and administration behind it. It can only collapse in a chaos of recriminations and clouds of bitterness and misunderstanding.

As a result of this drifting without rudder or compass, some new tendencies of development are showing themselves which threaten new complications of the central problem, without any solution. One of these is the tendency for the army more and more to move in and take charge of the whole production problem. This tendency was already foreseen and warned against in 1931 by Mr. Bernard M. Baruch, in the memorandum already quoted. Mr. Baruch warned: "We must neither militarize industry nor industrialize the army." "The job of the War Department is our armed forces. That is a big job. To pile on top of it the task of economic mobilization would insure the failure of both." With this judgment of Mr. Baruch I most emphatically agree. The central administration of economy for which I argue has nothing in common with the militarization of industry, and nothing could be more certain to make it impossible than for the army to move into the center of the production problem. The military mind is absolutely incapable of solving this problem, but can only make confusion worse confounded.

ONE of the favorite arguments against a central economic administration is the question: "Where would the government find better managers than those now running our production plants?" The answer is that we need not find any better managers at all if we will simply give the present managers a full assignment of work and see that they do it. We could dispense with a 100,000 useless functionaries in Washington if we only had a few hundred men, working as a team under strong leadership, with the single job of making such assignments of production tasks, and the men and materials, to every existing production manager with the willingness to carry out the tasks and the plant in which to do it. The nation had hoped that that was what Mr. Nelson was being set to do. But Mr. Nelson is proving to be not much more than a repetition of Mr. Knudsen, because our change was only of men when it should have been a change of policy.

It is useless to indulge in hectic recriminations against the industrialists and managers of production because of our troubles, at least not until a more sensible and practical plan of work has been proposed and they have rejected it. They are failing now because they are beset by a dozen conflicting bosses, none of whom has the slightest idea of what should be done, but each very anxious to demonstrate his authority to an admiring world and his sweetheart. Under such conditions the most efficient and most patriotic manager in the world would probably end up in a mental sanitarium. I haven't the heart to scold any of them—not yet.

EARL BROWDER.

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SITDOWN IN ARIZONA

The big cotton growers demand their "right price"—no minimum wage regulation—for a decisive war material. An opening gun in the reactionary counter-offensive directed against the administration's war effort. Echoes of du Pont.

Washington.

A SITDOWN strike against the war effort is being staged by the Arizona Cotton Growers Association. Last week I reported the secret deliberations of the Resolutions Committee of the National Association of Manufacturers. On September 17, at the Hotel Pennsylvania in New York City, one delegate after another to the NAM conference warned that unless the administration met the demands of a handful of industrialists, war production would suffer. The NAM "line" is now being applied by Arizona cotton planters. Nor is the present sitdown merely of local concern; actually, it is the opening gun of a reactionary counter-offensive against the national war effort.

Of course, the Arizona growers are only a front for the much larger, more important California growers, organized into the Associated Farmers, and through them for the NAM. For years, the Arizona landlords have acted as advance outposts for their West Coast masters.

The Arizona Cotton Growers Association refuses to authorize the picking of long-staple cotton, a decisive war material essential to the manufacturer of parachutes. Other varieties of cotton have been harvested in the same region, but the long-staple crop remains in the fields. Secretary of Agriculture Wickard and War Manpower Administrator McNutt wired the cotton growers to get the crop in without fail, warning them that they would be held directly responsible for any loss of this vitally needed cotton. So far, the government's order has been disregarded.

THE Arizona sitdown has a history. During the summer the Department of Agriculture entered into an agreement with the Mexican government on conditions of work for Mexican agricultural workers brought into the United States to ease manpower shortages. Among numerous other specifications the agreement guaranteed Mexican farm labor a minimum wage of thirty cents an hour. As a result of this contract the Department of Agriculture also ruled that all domestic farm workers transported from one farm area to another by the federal government should be paid the same minimum of thirty cents an hour.

The Farm Security Administration was assigned the task of transporting farm labor so that manpower could be utilized most efficiently in the war effort. No difficulties were encountered in New York state, in northern California, in the sugar beet fields where the arrangement was initiated. But the Arizona cotton growers, supplied with domestic labor transported by FSA, balked.

The sitdown strike was not directed against the thirty cents an hour wage as such. Rather, the growers objected to the precedent. They would have resisted if the required wage were far lower—because they are determined not to countenance minimum wage regulations for farm labor.

By their refusal to pick long-staple cotton and their additional threat not to plant next year's crop, the Arizona growers hope to throw the administration into confusion. Backed by the Farm Bureau Association (dominated by big landowners) and the congressional "farm" bloc, they plan to use defeat of the minimum wage regulations for agricultural workers as a first step in the campaign to forestall any orderly plan to mobilize agricultural manpower during the war crisis. They expect to extend their counter-offensive nationally, with the goal of destroying the hated Farm Security Administration, ending the progressive influence of Vice-President Wallace in the Department of Agriculture, and dealing a death blow to legislation designed to protect the farm worker and the small farmer. If they succeed, it might mean the scrapping of the "Food for Victory" program.

THE Arizona sitdown is reaction's "second front" against the administration and its win-the-war supporters. Immediately after the elections the defeatist Hoover-Taft-Vandenberg Republicans and the poll-tax Democrats attacked wage-hour legislation, the War Labor Board, and the entire machinery by which labor, the employers, and industry settle problems in an orderly fashion without detriment to production. Now, in a simultaneous offensive of which the Arizona sitdown is only the first engagement, obstructionists hope to squeeze the administration in a pincers. They anticipate wangling concessions for the Arizona growers—thus weakening the FSA—in return for easing the attack on the WLB and on legislation pertaining to industrial labor. If they can force the administration to accept a pattern of compulsory freezing for farm labor, the elimination of FSA and other hated New Deal agencies, with the army through Selective Service in full command of agricultural workers, then they see no reason why the same pattern cannot be imposed upon industrial labor as well.

FORTUNATELY the unions are preparing to resist this plot. At the CIO convention the production program of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packinghouse, and Allied Workers was incorporated in the CIO program. There is growing unity of action between the labor movement and the Farmers Union. The AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods are being drawn increasingly into the coalition. The maneuvers of reaction make plainer that the problems facing small farmers, farm workers, and industrial workers are intimately linked.

The farm bloc-NAM coalition clings to the "supply and demand economy" of another era, while total war necessitates over-all planning. Business-as-usual and agriculture-as-usual strive to preserve economy-as-usual. The sitdown strike in Arizona only illustrates how far the advocates of an "as-usual" war effort will go. Plainly, long staple cotton is needed for parachutes. So what? say the duPont-Associated Farmers spokesmen—the government is merely another buyer in a seller's market. The government must pay the "right price" or take the consequences.

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THROUGH ICEBERGS AND BOMBS

Seaman K. K. Owen of Texas tells how his convoy got to Murmansk despite hell and high water. The end of the luftwaffe's "perfect day." Why "We would be glad to make the trip again. . . ."

Stokers on a convoy to Russia thaw ice on the deck.

MY SHIP was loaded with war materials bound for the Soviet Union. After a long stay in a northern Atlantic port the crew was eager for action. At last the long awaited event occurred when a naval vessel pulled alongside. The captain was asked to attend a conference the next morning. This meant that we were due to shove off within the next twenty-four hours. Everybody was in good spirits when the news got around.

The next evening we joined a long line of ships moving out of the harbor. Soon naval vessels of various types approached us. It was a most impressive sight when the convoy was made up. As we stood on the poop deck and took in this picture, Red, the fireman, said: "Boy, with all these battle wagons it looks like we're just darin' Hitler to come out and take a crack at us." And that's about how it looked. Nevertheless, we felt pretty safe.

A few days out a Nazi reconnaissance plane picked us up. This meant that we were in for some action. Soon after that our first attack came. But it was rather mild. The Nazis no doubt were testing our firing strength. The first big attack came about four hours later. I was on one of the aft anti-aircraft (AA) guns with a young gunner from Alabama. The Junker aviators were firing at a high level, in perfect formation. When they got over us they broke formation and dove for us. About four of them came in our direction. The naval ships in the center of the convoy steamed out into battle formation. Their big AA guns were already blasting away and their shells could be seen breaking in among the planes as they dove. By this time all the heavy guns in the entire convoy were in operation and the noise, the concussion, and the flying shrapnel were terrific.

I GLANCED across to port and saw a little Russian vessel steaming up in her place in the convoy with all hands at battle stations. One of the Junkers banked and made for her. The tracer bullets from the Russians pounded into the plane. The Junker dropped two bombs and just missed the ship by a few feet. Two Nazi birdies came for us and I said to the gunner, "How do you feel, young feller?" He says, "Kinda nervous." I said, "Do you think you can do it?" He answered, "By God, we'll do the best we can!" And he sure did. He lay down on the gun and I could see the tracer bullets smackin' the Junkers right in the belly. One peeled over and let go two bombs that just missed our bow. Then the Nazi banked to starboard and let two more bombs go at the Russian ship ahead. He was caught in the crossfire from three ships. The Junker tried to gain altitude but his plane burst into flame and smacked the waves.

After three days of such engagements, which occurred about every two hours, all hands were getting dog-tired. We slept standing at our battle stations whenever there was a lull. Our ammunition was getting low, and the officer in command shouted instructions to be careful not to waste a bullet. During these three days the Nazis were unable to score a hit because of the effectiveness of our anti-aircraft fire.

One morning the sky was clear as crystal—the sea without a ripple. We were now running into heavy ice folds and from time to time had to alter our course to avoid icebergs. Now and then we could see a bunch of seals frolicking about. They gave us a feeling of quietness and contentment and it was hard to realize that a bitter war was being waged amid such peaceful surroundings.

It was a perfect day for the luftwaffe. A member of the gun crew remarked at the mess table that it looked as if we'd be in for it today. I was on the watch below when we had our severest attack. Hitler was throwing everything at us—from submarine attacks to aerial torpedoes. Every gun in the convoy was a blaze of hell. Depth charges were being dropped and the concussions in the water made our ship bounce around like a cork. The floor plates were jumping out of place and the paint-work on the bulkhead was popping off because of the terrific strain the vessel was under. It was kind of rough goin' down there, but we had to stand by our station to keep the engines in operation. The first assistant was standing by the throttle and I was holding a crosshead from the second grating. I glanced down at the engineer and sang out, "How's she steamin'?" He shouted back, "We're turnin' over about sixty-two revs. We ought to get there pretty soon at this rate!"—when *wham!* We got it.

The ship lurched terrifically, all lights went out. It seemed like I was swimming in oil and water and steam. I made for the ladder when the two bombs hit. Then everything went black. When I came to, I was on deck. The engineer and I were the only two lucky ones to get out from below. We never saw the others again.

I made for the boat deck. We lowered one of the life boats and cleared the ship. Part of the crew lucky enough to be on deck jumped overboard and got on life rafts, and some hung to a capsized lifeboat. We were all picked up by a United Nations naval vessel. As soon as we got aboard we were given a shot

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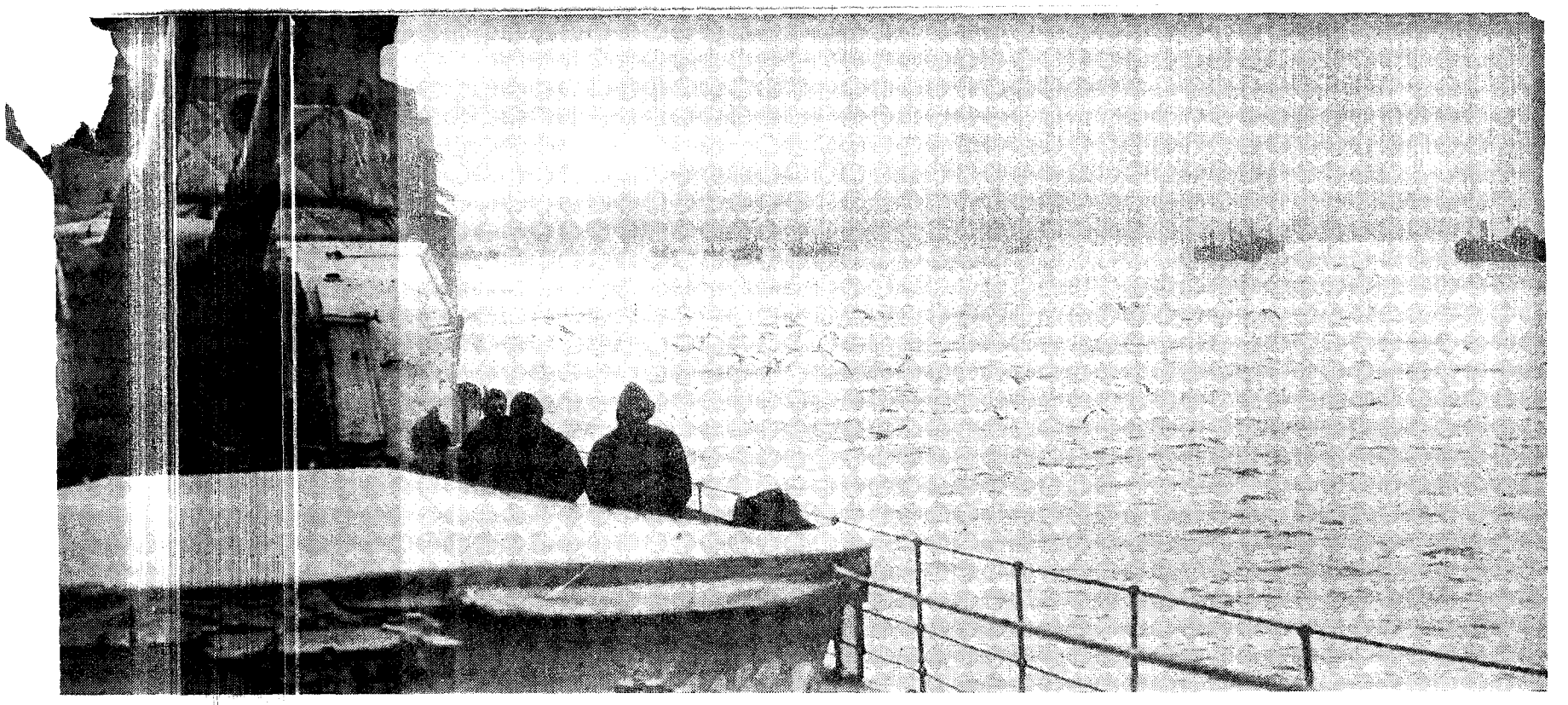

A convoy with escorting vessels pulls safely into harbor as dusk falls.

of rum which made us feel pretty good. Some of the crew were almost frozen from the icy water. They were given first aid and dry clothes. The sailors shared with us their clothing, food, and cigarettes and gave us their bunks, while they slept on the bare deck. It was very crowded on this small vessel because they had picked up survivors from two ships. But we all got along very fine.

THERE was a signalman, about seventeen years old, who won our admiration. He asked me how I liked the rum, and I said fine; he invited me to share his daily portion with him. Then he asked me if I had a bunk where I could rest. I said no, there wasn't any time to rest anyway so I would do very well by sitting on the deck catching a few winks of sleep. I asked him how long he had been in his country's navy and he said that he had been on the West African patrol for about fourteen months. But he didn't like it down there, it was very dull. They ran into the enemy only now and then. I asked him how did he like the Murmansk convoy. He replied very casually, "Why, I prefer a little action to the monotony of the African coast." I said, "You're a better man than I am, Bud! I'd rather be down in Texas, roping a steer!" When the sailors found out that Kelly and I were from Texas, the bunch of them at the mess table began to sing "Deep in the Heart of Texas." The fact is these men knew more cowboy songs than we did.

We assisted the sailors in standing lookout and anything else that we could do during our three-day voyage with them. We saw these sailors in action, and they certainly were real fighters. They had done a thorough job in making absolutely sure that every survivor from a torpedoed ship was picked up.

An outstanding incident of heroism was displayed by the men on a Russian ship. A bomb hit them for'ard and tore a tremendous hole through the bow, killing or wounding the entire gun crew, and starting a raging fire. Immediately the Soviet seamen went into action to fight the fire. They manned the fire hose as the bombers continued to drop bombs at them, as well as machine-gun them. It looked pretty bad for the Russians and we were plenty burned up because the ship was carrying valuable cargo. The Nazis were determined to get this ship, and now that she was ablaze they ran completely amok in an effort to finish her off. She was going down by the head and dropping behind the convoy. We and another naval vessel remained close by to give her protection. I made a bet with one of my shipmates that the Russians would bring that ship in. He said he didn't think they had a chance. After this particular engagement was over the Russians began signalling to a ship ahead. I asked my friend the signalman what it was all about. He said they were calling to the other ship to heave to and take the wounded Russian sailors aboard for treatment. The ship came back and hove to while the wounded were lowered away from the Russian ship in a lifeboat and transported safely to the other ship. The Russians who manned the lifeboat made it back to their ship just as the Junkers came again and you could see them running for their battle stations to carry on the fight. They fought the fire for ten hours in the face of the severest aircraft attack. The smoke began to subside and finally disappeared. The Russians had won the battle. Soon their ship was gaining speed and moved up to her position in the convoy.

The next time they came, a freighter got it right on No. 1 Hatch, and it tore a hole through the side of the ship about fifteen feet in diameter. This ship, too, fought the fire and retained her position in the convoy.

THE morning of the next day we saw four objects moving in our direction at a tremendous speed. I took a look to see if the enemy craft pennant had gone up because we were expecting surface raiders. There was no alarm or any danger signals. So we stood by and watched these objects grow larger and larger. They soon loomed into sight—they turned out to be four Soviet naval ships. As they maneuvered into position alongside the convoy they gave us a thrill at the sight of such fighting power. They really had the guns. Kelly said, "Boy, howdy! Them Russian guns are at least a quarter of a mile long! I bet they can really do their stuff!" We nicknamed a big one "Uncle Joe" and we were anxious to see him in action. Soon an enemy reconnaissance plane began to maneuver in a little closer when Uncle Joe let go some of his guns and all you could see was a blast of fire and smoke and the shells busting right on the tail of "Berlin Blackie," as he scrammed out of range. The Russians were with us the remainder of the trip and did a good job keeping the Nazis at a reasonable distance.

At last we sighted land and were heading into the Murmansk River, when we were attacked in full force by the Nazis. They sent Messerschmitts, Heinkel III's, and Junker 88's. Hitler so far had scored lousy with the amount of planes that he lost and the very few ships that he had sunk. He boasted to the world just as we shoved off from port that the convoy to Murmansk would be stopped. Some secret weapon would be employed to do the job. His propaganda machine was in full

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force, and according to Goebbels we were all at the bottom of the ocean. So no doubt some of his commanders would have to account for their failure to make good his boast. That is the reason he tried to give us the works here. But the Red Air Force came with the speed of bullets from nowhere, and the last we saw of the Nazis they were disappearing with the Red airmen on their tail. I can safely say that at least seven Nazi planes plunged into the ocean.

Although we had lost our own we felt mighty proud when we saw the long line of merchant ships moving up the river. Some were pretty badly battle-scarred, but they were still under their own power. We hove to in the river and watched the ships as they passed. As the Russian ship which had been aflame passed by, the Americans stood on deck and gave the men a cheer for the wonderful fight they had put up.

WE WERE quartered in an army camp near Murmansk for about a week. The Russian people treated us swell. They shared with us what little they had. They made our stay as comfortable as possible. The girls in the kitchen and those who waited on us worked about sixteen hours a day and seemed to be delighted to be of service to us. They were always smiling, singing, and in general very happy. Some of the girls were real pretty. They don't use cosmetics of any kind but they seem to have a natural beauty. There wasn't any time for any amusement or dancing, so the men were contented with just trying to learn a few words in Russian in order to speak to them.

One thing that impressed me very much was when the Russians unloaded a tank, they started the motor while it was still in the hold, and immediately when it was put on the dock a Red Army man climbed in and the tank was gone—not a moment lost. No cargo remained on the dock. It was rushed immediately to the front.

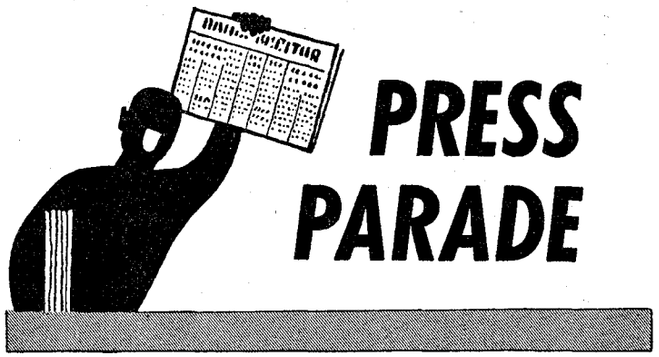
The longshoremen work two shifts, twelve hours a day. I have seen them continue to unload during an air raid with the bombs dropping all round. I saw a dock partly demolished, some of the workmen wounded and killed. They immediately removed the wreckage and the killed and wounded, and continued to unload the ship. I got a kick out of watching a young girl who was handling a deck winch. She seemed to be a boss stevedore, by the way she was bawling out three big husky longshoremen. They evidently had put the lashing on a crate improperly. They very quickly changed the lashing and we all laughed and shouted, "Atta girl!" when she swung the crate out of the hold and onto the dock like an old time West Coast steam schooner man.

The seamen were entertained at a seamen's club. Until we realized the 100 percent war effort of the Russian people we couldn't understand why we couldn't spend any money. There was nothing to buy. Everything that they can spare goes to the front, and the rest is rationed. What they had they gave us freely.

WE WERE put aboard a freighter for repatriation back to the States. We remained aboard this vessel in the harbor some time awaiting convoy. During our stay in Murmansk we witnessed numerous "dog fights" between the Nazis and the Soviet fliers. The "invincibility" of the Nazis is a lot of hokum. We saw many German planes knocked out. When the air raid alarm sounds, in two minutes the Red Air Force is in action and the men go right after the enemy. They stay with the enemy until they knock 'em out. They had as high as twelve air raids in one day over Murmansk and the harbor. The last few days we were there the Nazis started sending high level bombers, fifteen to twenty at a time. The Soviet airmen, together with the ground batteries, go into action each time to drive them off. The Russians are great fighters.

The trip to Russia was full of risk and excitement. But everybody had the same feeling—that we would be glad to make the trip again in order to keep 'em sailing.

K. K. OWEN.



PRESS PARADE

The "Logic" of Racism

ON THE courthouse lawn in Caruthersville, Mo., stands a roster of the community's men in military service but quite a number of names are missing. They are the names of the Negro men. The Junior Chamber of Commerce originally proposed to include them but in Jim Crow fashion, in a separate group. When Negro organizations protested the segregation, the Chamber of Commerce omitted the names entirely. Its excuse was that since Negroes were segregated in all other Caruthersville activities they should be segregated here too! "Has anybody," asks the St. Louis "Post Dispatch," "told the Caruthersville Junior Chamber of Commerce that this is supposed to be a war for democracy, and not for Jim Crow?"

SOMETIME ago we called attention to the jokes and jibes at the expense of the Negro people that often appear in publications that pride themselves on their freedom from race prejudice. The other day Walter Winchell published in his column one of those vicious tales disguised as innocent humor. It was a story about a Negro rookie, and the effect of the joke was to give the impression that Negro soldiers are cowardly and want to run away as fast as they can when the shooting starts. This is a libel on the Negro people as all our wars have proved. All that is necessary is to change Negro to Jew in this story and it might appear in one of the gutter-sheets of Berlin.

Holiday Note

MANY an American soldier in Britain will eat a Thanksgiving dinner this year which includes apple and pumpkin and mince pies made as Mother used to make them. And if he is an overnight guest there may be johnny-cakes or flapjacks for breakfast. The Ministry of Food has recently announced a demonstration tour for the purpose of teaching housewives of Britain how to cook American style.

Memo to Appeaser Press

RECENTLY another attempt was made to dupe the rebellious Russian population in territories occupied by the Nazis. In Kiev the Nazis composed and published a complete edition of "Pravda" giving the "news" that Moscow and Stalingrad had been captured. Needless to say it didn't work.

If Winter Comes . . .

"Defense Council Advises Clothing for Women Workers."
Headline in the "Parkside Press," Los Angeles

[Readers are invited to contribute to this column. A year's subscription to NEW MASSES will be given for the best item submitted each week. Please enclose the press clipping from which the item is taken.]

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ABOARD AN ARMORED TRAIN

Alexander Polyakov, in the second installment of his last dispatches before he was killed, describes the exploits of the "Tambov Worker." . . . Pilot Vasilyev terrifies the enemy.

Moscow (by cable).

THE armored train was going full steam ahead. The train commander was Teplyakov, a tall artillery captain who moved with the ease of a sportsman. When the train started out, Teplyakov and I were on the locomotive. The engineer, Leonov, and the fireman, Khotuntsev, were railwaymen from Tambov. They had been sent by the workers of Tambov, who had built the armored train and christened it *Tambov Worker*. From the observation tower I could see outlines of Rhzev to the right and Soviet troops and artillery positions to the left. Right near the rails I saw sappers and infantrymen, now on the ground, now dashing forward. The train was still going full steam. "Keep up the speed!" shouted the captain to the locomotive crew. Finally the orders resounded at the fire-control post and guns opened up at the German positions.

It was like a fiery hurricane on the enemy. The locomotive crew was just as busy as the gun crew for steam had to be kept at a maximum. Shovel after shovel of coal was flung into the red hot firebox. *Tambov Worker* was to break through to three villages in the rear which covered the approaches to the town, and strike from there—a distance of from 800 to 1,000 meters. When the train started out on its second attack I was in the turret of the observation car with Senior Sergeant Skornyakov. All observation ports were thrown open. We were actually under the enemy's very nose. But the order to fire was not yet forthcoming. It was given at the very moment when the train reached the last lap of the undamaged track. We could clearly see the enemy dugouts and the Nazis running through communication trenches in their gray uniforms. It seemed as though the trains, cannons, and machine guns were transported with fiery ardor.

After releasing over a thousand shells in ten minutes *Tambov Worker* began to withdraw from the battle. I was near Gun Commander Senior Sergeant Mikurin when the train was attacked by fifteen bombers. I managed to look up at the front dive bomber as it swooped down with a howling bomb. The howling grew louder as the bombs dropped, followed by deafening explosions. In the mad whirlpool of sounds we could clearly discern our AA gunners. Mikurin cheerfully raised his gun muzzle skywards and pounded away for all he was worth. Suddenly a terrific explosion threw all the men off their feet. Lights went out. The train came to a standstill. About five more explosions, then dead stillness set in, broken only by a faint moaning.

WE RUSHED to the guns and apertures—the former were intact but the apertures were clogged with earth. We opened the ports: the ground around was gaping with huge craters. The train had sustained one direct hit, a bomb had found a flatcar carrying rails, and only the wheels remained. Our car stopped near the edge of a deep crater. There was no retreat! But sappers especially attached to us were already running toward the train. Neither the more than fifty bombs dropped around the train nor the direct hit on the flatcar deprived Teplyakov of his vigor and self-possession.

Red artillerymen on the southern front preparing for an enemy air raid.

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Riddled by thousands of splinters, the train was still a strong weapon. Suddenly Teplyakov made a decision. The Germans thought that after the raid the train would no longer hold any danger for them. But while the sappers were repairing the track, *Tambov Worker* made a thrust forward into a fresh attack. We learned the results of that attack and the previous one when we returned to base in the evening. We had so facilitated the advance of a large formation of Soviet troops that they gained several kilometers of ground in an operation to outflank Rzhev, and captured six inhabited points.

LOOKING at this frail, modest youth with the unruly forelock curled over his temple, it was hard to believe that Pilot Vasilyev was a terror to the German artillery. He had a habit of deliberately breaking into the most dangerous anti-aircraft zone, compelling enemy AA guns to open up fire, so that he might photograph their disposition. The pilots and artillerymen of Major Zhigarev's Fire-Adjusting Detachment were all daring men. "It's better never to come back than to return without fulfilling an assignment" was the unwritten law in this detachment.

Vasilyev was detailed by Zhigarev to photograph one sector of the enemy's defenses where few mortar and artillery batteries were known to be dug in. Lieutenant Tesa was assigned to accompany him as fire-adjuster, and I to take the place of the navigator. Climbing inside, I immediately noticed fresh scratches and bullet holes in the instrument board. "When did you get this?" I asked Tesa.

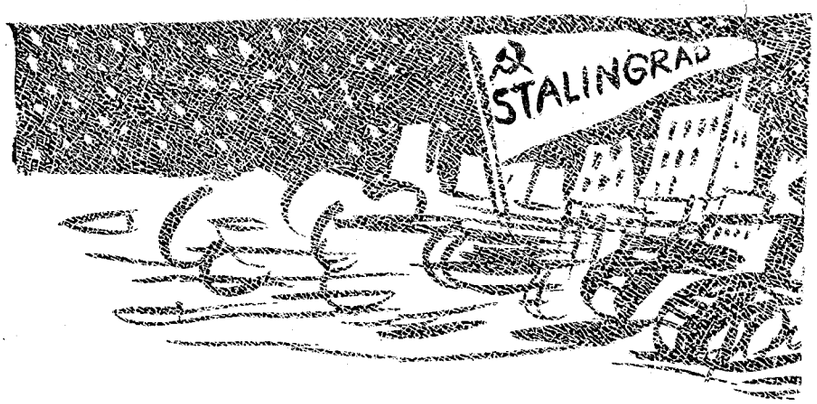
"Ten days ago Navigator Tyulpanov was killed at this spot," he replied. I remembered the occasion, which had been a day of both mourning and joy in the detachment. Joy because the Soviet troops had crossed the Volga under cover of the artillery, directed by Major Zhigarev with the aid of a fire-adjusting plane. But the plane was attacked by two Messerschmitts. The pilot fired back and maneuvered, but the shell nevertheless hit the navigator's cabin. Down at Major Zhigarev's observation point we received a laconic radiogram: "Assignment fulfilled. Navigator Tyulpanov killed. Headed airdromewards. Vasilyev."

The plane swept across a flowery field which resembled a bright rug and a few seconds later we already were sailing on an unbounded sea of air. A silver ribbon flashed to the right. It originated somewhere below and vanished far beyond the horizon where the sun had just risen. This was the Volga, splendid landmark amid the fresh fields and swamps merging into a solid stretch of green. My eyes followed the Volga; there was Rzhev—only a few minutes' flight away. Its outskirts came into view. There was a vast airdrome occupied by Soviet troops—smoke enveloped the army camp where heated battles were in progress.

The inhabitants who escaped from Rzhev told me that German barons had moved into the private residences situated near the airport. It was these houses that cast a bright glow through the smoke enveloping the city. Vasilyev headed straight for his target to one side of the city. So far all was well. The skies were calm. I thought, Zhigarev will no doubt be pleased with the photographs. Tesa was busy conversing with Zhigarev's wireless operator, Shulga, on the ground. The steel falcon radioed the location of the targets to artillerymen on the Volga. What splendid signals their radio has today, I thought. Tesa was sending more and more information and Zhigarev replied with fire. The ground below rocked with the growing number of explosions. A plane circled over the target and a new radio signal was dispatched. "Cease fire. Enemy battery destroyed!"

With its assignment completed, the plane turned back to the airdrome. Vasilyev, after his successful conquest of a few German "Berthas" from the air, returned to the ground.

ALEXANDER POLYAKOV.



Michaels

"Personally, Schultz, I like it better here."

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ESTABLISHED 1911

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Cloture Can Beat the Filibuster

THE poll tax senators have gone on strike: the dictionaries, the telephone books, the legal tomes, all the paraphernalia of delay are piled on their desks. They have begun their threatened filibuster against the Pepper anti-poll tax measure. While the nation as a whole stands four-square for the abolition of the archaic, anti-democratic poll tax, while millions of the disfranchised—white and Negro—wait hopefully, the arrogant legislators from the South have chosen to defy everybody. "A minority is striking against the Senate," the New York *Herald Tribune* puts it. "It is to be hoped that public opinion, North and South, will unite in rebuking them."

If ever there were a time for "rebuke" this is it. The whole Axis world is watching and waiting—ready to shortwave the shameful news of filibuster to hundreds of millions of the colored peoples, who, as Wendell Willkie reported, seek a sign from the United Nations, a signal that we mean four freedoms when we say it.

All of which means precisely nothing to Senator Bilbo of Mississippi. He and his cronies, experienced saboteurs of the war, are making their supreme effort. They will drone on until Christmas, if they can, and hold up the legislation until it dies automatically—while thousands of sons of the disfranchised are fighting and dying on the battle fronts.

Not content with sabotaging the anti-poll tax vote, the Bilbo gang shamelessly insult those they injure. Last week Gessner T. McCorney, the Democratic state chairman of Alabama, sent a letter to his party's national committee defying the President's policy of utilizing the Negro people of America in our war for preservation. Consider McCorney's argument for the poll tax: ". . . a great many of the thriftless, shiftless, worthless type of people . . . fail to pay their poll tax, and by reason thereof, we have a more intelligent electorate than exists in some states where all kinds of rabble are permitted to vote without question." Hitler words, and the filibuster today is Hitler's deed.

Fortunately the nation and its spokesmen are rising to meet this menace. When a quorum was lacking, Sen. Alben Barkley, administration leader in the Senate, issued "warrants of arrest" for eight senators, seven from poll tax states, who were in the capital but failed to appear on the floor. This is a hopeful development. If followed by consistently strong measures, the filibuster can be defeated.

Cloture can beat it. A vote for cloture can be won if sufficient demand for it arises from the nation. The steps for this action are as follows: a round robin petition, signed by at least sixteen senators urging it, is necessary. Then a motion for it any time after debate starts; if passed, each senator is confined to one speech which can last no longer than an hour. Since only some fourteen senators are involved in the filibuster, cloture would carry the day. It is true that this procedure has been used only four times in history, but these are precedent-breaking times. The safety of the nation, the full mobilization of millions within our country, and the full adherence of hundreds of millions outside America, are involved. For these reasons every NEW MASSES reader should write or wire his senators to fight for the Pepper-Geyer bill by supporting cloture. It is today's most crucial battle on the domestic scene.

The Manpower Issue

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT is said to be considering a change in the manpower setup. It is long overdue. The launching of the African offensive highlights the fact that the manpower crisis has reached a point where a thoroughgoing solution can no longer be postponed. During the past week two reports —one by the Management-Labor Policy Committee of the War Manpower Commission and the other by a subcommittee of the Senate Truman committee investigating the national defense program—reflect a growing clarity concerning the nature of the problem and its remedy. Though they differ in detail and emphasis, the two reports are in substantial agreement in basic approach. They are also in accord with the manpower recommendations of the recently published sixth interim report of the House Tolan committee investigating defense labor migration.

All three reports declare that the organization and distribution of manpower for the armed forces and for production must be conceived as two phases of a single problem to be dealt with by a single directing agency. At present the Selective Service Administration has the right of way and its principal concern is with building the army of 7,500,000 men contemplated by the end of 1943. Though local draft boards are supposed to defer essential workers, they are pressed to fill their quotas and cannot be expected to make the broader decisions concerning the relative needs of the army and the war industries. As a result, serious labor shortages are beginning to develop in war production and agriculture. And with a minimum of 5,000,000 additional workers needed by the end of 1943, this situation will threaten the breakdown of the entire production program unless effective measures are taken.

All three reports also seek to integrate the manpower problem with military and production planning. The two reports issued in the past week, however, fail to develop the full implications of this approach as did the Tolan committee's sixth interim report. The latter, on the basis of a comprehensive study of both production and labor, proposed the establishment of a central planning agency, the Office of War Mobilization, under which would function an Office of War Supply in place of the present War Production Board, an Office of War Manpower, and the existing Office of Economic Mobilization.

THE reports of the Management-Labor Policy Committee and the Truman subcommittee make specific recommendations for utilizing to the full the existing labor force, as well as for augmenting it. These recommendations include such essential measures as the extension of training programs, the accelerated transfer of workers from non-essential to essential production, the increased recruitment of women, and the ending of discrimination because of age, sex, or race.

One might add that a better utilization of white-collar and professional personnel is also indispensable for the solution of the manpower problem. In the case of doctors a serious crisis has already arisen in many new as well as old industrial areas because of the large number of physicians who have gone into the armed services. Certainly the lifting of bans on the use of Negro and women physicians in the Army and Navy would help greatly in alleviating this situation.

The Truman subcommittee also recommends lengthening the work week to forty-eight hours and the payment of additional overtime in bonds cashable after the war but which can be used during the war to pay taxes. This section of its report is ambiguously worded and it is not clear whether the

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committee is proposing the lengthening of the *basic* work week or merely a new way of paying overtime. There is no law on the statute books that forbids a forty-eight or a fifty-eight-hour week. All the Wage-Hour Law provides is that employers pay overtime for all hours worked after forty. Since, as is well known, the operation of factories for longer hours results in a proportionate increase in profits because of the lowering of unit costs of production, there is no reason why workers should not receive a proportionate increase in pay for the extra time. As President Roosevelt recently pointed out, the work week in the production of the most important war goods is already forty-eight hours, and the average week in all war production is between forty-six and forty-seven hours. This would undoubtedly be even higher were it not for the frequent shortages of materials in many plants as a result of the poor planning of the production program. The real bottleneck is not the Wage-Hour Law, but the lack of centralized planning.

In this connection we would like to draw our readers' attention to the Institute on Problems of the War to be held Saturday, November 28, at the Hotel Astor, under the auspices of the progressive quarterly *Science and Society*. The conference will be divided into three sessions: one will deal with "The Problems of Mobilization of Manpower for Production"; another, "The Crucial Problems of War Economy"; and the third, "Problems of Labor-Employer Relations." Among the speakers will be Dr. Harry Grundfest, general secretary of the American Association of Scientific Workers; Prof. Mildred Fairchild, director of the Department of Social Economy at Bryn Mawr College; John Beecher of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices; J. J. Joseph, Planning Division of the War Manpower Commission; Prof. Paul M. Swezey, of Harvard, Earl Browder, Prof. J. Raymond Walsh, director of the Economic Division of the CIO, Julius Emspak, general secretary of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, and Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union.

The Plight of Puerto Rico

THE desperate situation of Puerto Rico, "the Gibraltar of the Caribbean," has been brought to the attention of the American people by Cong. Vito Marcantonio. In a forceful speech in the House of Representatives on November 12, he said: "Puerto Rico finds itself today in a plight which in some respects is worse than the plight of some of the conquered nations. The war has brought about an economic situation in Puerto Rico which is the most pitiable that we have witnessed in its entire history."

With the severe curtailment of shipping facilities—from a norm of 100,000 tons a month to a bare 30,000—the export trade on which the monoculture of Puerto Rico depended, and the import trade which feeds its 1,900,000 inhabitants have collapsed. Unemployment has increased at a frightening pace. Munoz Marin, president of the Puerto Rican Senate and leader of the majority Popular Party, reported 160,000 or about forty percent of the employables jobless at the beginning of September. This figure skyrocketed to 225,000 in October, and for last week Mr. Marcantonio gave the appalling figure of 325,000, involving at least 160,000 families in which not a single member is earning.

Prices, particularly for food, are soaring. Sen. Munoz Marin recently announced that they had risen ninety-six percent since before the war; wages rose only thirty percent.

Such is the dangerous economic situation in the island which is a key to the military defense of the Caribbean and of the eastern approaches to the Panama Canal. Such is the shameful condition of the people in an American colony which constitutes a vital criterion whereby other people, and particularly the 100,000,000 other Latin Americans, judge our democracy.

Mr. Marcantonio has proposed an immediate program for the economic relief of Puerto Rico which demands the wholehearted support of the American people. It will be elaborated by its author in next week's issue of NEW MASSES. It is a three-fold program to get food to the island, to keep prices down by subsidy, and to provide the poverty stricken inhabitants with money to buy necessities. The program is to be made possible, pending action by Congress, by the President's use of a minimum of $50,000,000 under his lend-lease war powers.

Help Them Fight Again

TO MORE than 75,000 prisoners and refugees interned in North Africa the American-British offensive meant one thing: the long awaited opportunity to take up arms again in the fight against fascism. About 30,000 of them are Spanish republicans, first held in concentration camps in France and then shipped by Vichy to Algeria. Another 10,000 or so are refugees from many other countries—most of them, like the members of the International Brigade, had fought the fascists in the Spanish war. French political prisoners account for 10,000 to 15,000 more, a group representing the very structure of the French progressive movement—trade union leaders, Communists, deputies and city mayors, writers, artists. Those trapped in North Africa include, finally, some 15,000 to 20,000 others, mostly Jews, from all parts of occupied Europe including Germany and Italy, who fled before the Hitler horror.

A large number of these anti-fascists were imprisoned in the notorious concentration camp at Djelfa, about 200 miles due south of the city of Algiers. Many others were put to work by the Axis on the section of the proposed Oran-Dakar railway just south of Colomb Bechar. Wherever they were they suffered inhuman conditions for nearly two years, blistering heat and freezing nights, starvation diet, lack of medical care, slave labor.

Those who survived will eagerly join their American and British comrades-in-arms. The health of many, however, has been seriously impaired by the treatment they have endured. It is the urgent task of the American-British command to rehabilitate them so that they too may again take up the fight.

Speaking of all the anti-fascists in North Africa, the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, which has already done such magnificent rescue work, declares: "They must be given all possible assistance to return to the active fighting fronts. This will be possible through the sympathetic application of America's traditional policy toward oppressed peoples and toward our fighting Allies." The speedy use of these men and of all other anti-fascist forces wherever they may be found will hasten the day when the 150,000 political prisoners still in France will be liberated.

Why the Silence?

LAST week NEW MASSES published an expose of a sinister meeting held at the Hotel Pennsylvania in New York by the Resolutions Committee of the National Association of Manufacturers. We published that story in the interests of national unity; for brewing at the Hotel Pennsylvania sessions was a conspiracy against our Commander-in-Chief. As we pointed out, Lammot du Pont was the moving spirit in the plot. Aligned with him stood a minority of industrialists, a minority, but sufficiently powerful to do a lot of mischief unless checked by the force of public opinion.

We regret to say that not one principal metropolitan newspaper commented on the expose. We feel, as newspapermen, that Bruce Minton's story merited consideration by every journalistic standard. It dealt with an issue of transcendent importance: unity for victory. It named names, it named places. It turned the spotlight on a danger to the war effort: yet it was ignored. We can understand the loud silence of the appeasement press—Roy Howard and Joseph M. Patterson wouldn't like it. But we feel that other publications genuinely concerned about the war are rendering a distinct disservice to their nation by their failure to pick up the ball, and keep it moving. The du Pont machinations cannot, dare not, go unchallenged.

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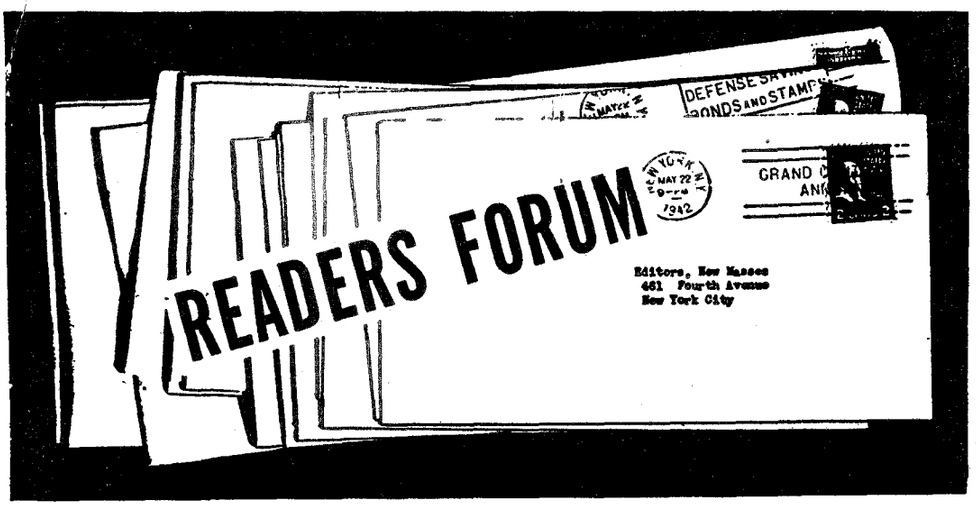

Sol Funaroff

To New Masses: It's been said that a writer is best remembered by his work: there is the distillation, the purest of his thoughts, the true man. But I think of my friend Sol Funaroff, who died so untimely at the age of thirty-one, and realize what a partial truth that is. Yes, Sol left us many fine poems, but the finest of him was never recorded in print at all. In recent years he had not written much. He had had rheumatic fever as a child and I think Sol knew always that his life was hanging on a very thin thread. Certainly the awareness of this, together with a constant struggle for a decent job, was not conducive (despite the romantic artist-in-a-garret theory) to a great outpouring of poetry.

But I'm not referring to the writing of poems especially when I say the finest of Sol wasn't expressed in print. I'm talking about his interest in the work of others, his efforts to discover and push forward new people. Many writers, unfortunately, ae too busy planting their own reputations to bother much with the next fellow. But Sol was always leaving his own work to cross the field and lend a hand elsewhere.

I remember how he came to visit me—a complete stranger—simply because he'd heard I wrote the sort of poetry he believed in. I remember that my first appearance in New Masses was in an anthology of new poets edited by him. I think of his Dynamo series—Rolfe's and Fearing's books—and how he characteristically left his own poems for the last and then ran out of money. I think of his anthologies of WPA writers, and of American writing. I remember how I had to argue with him before he agreed to include one of his own poems in the latter anthology.

He never believed in editing for the sake of erecting a ladder on which he himself might climb. And although he sometimes spoke bitterly to me of the loneliness of American poets—even in progressive circles—I never knew Sol to lose his sense of identification with working people and the cause of working people. He was not in their ranks as an intellectual migrant, as an Auden. He was there because he had been born there; he had been brought up there.

I think of recordings he made of other poets' work (he read beautifully), of his willingness always to take out of his own time to introduce one to a publisher, or an editor, or a book dealer. He performed myriad acts of such kindness for me and I know he did the same for others. What saddens one is that so often we must wait for death to permit the public acknowledgment.

And I think of my wife's words as we left the funeral parlor—"We take too much for granted. We don't treasure people enough. We don't realize how short a time they may be with us."

To treasure people, to view the living as the soon-to-be-dead—isn't that the essence of all great ethical teaching? What else is the meaning of this war if it is not a struggle for a world that will permit us to treasure people, to realize to the full that common humanity which Sol Funaroff shared with us for so tragically short a time?

Sidney Alexander.

New York.

To New Masses: Sol Funaroff is dead. A poet has died and literary friends pay their respects to his poetry, the songs he sang, his important contribution to the literature of the people. They know him by the work he has created, and mourn the loss of this people's poet, his tragic, tragic death.

I knew him intimately. Let others speak of the greatness of his poetry. It was but a part of his personal greatness. His life was poetry, deep in feeling, rich in understanding, profoundly responsive to every incident, every experience, all the things he saw. Always actively, creatively interested in every phase of expression of the life of the people. He never accepted a status quo for himself or them. Sol was always growing, learning, developing. The sufferings of the people were his sufferings. He had a great humanity.

Sick with rheumatic heart since the age of eight, he never permitted his physical condition to separate him from the normal life and activity of the people. Few friends and associates knew of his ailment. He wanted no special favors—no sympathy.

Born in poverty, lived in poverty, died in poverty. He wanted no luxuries, he was never bitter. Sol always had positive, constructive plans and wanted only the chance to work, write, create.

He was home in bed for two months before going to the hospital, and all during that time he worked, studied. Shortly before going to the hospital he started work on a poem about Stalingrad. Sol took the notes with him. He was in the hospital ten days and died before he could finish it. He fought till the end for the right to live.

More, much more, can be said and will be said. Yes, Sol Funaroff was a great man.

New York. Vivian Wilkes.

The Negro and the War

To New Masses: The defeat of 'Gene Talmadge in Georgia's primaries is an important indication of impatience with those who would rather have our country go down to defeat than surrender one ounce of their fascist racial theories. Imagine where Stalingrad would be if the color or sex of its defenders had to be pedigreed before they could take up arms!

Winning our way through this war and into a "Century of the Common Man" is no job for one group or race, but the solemn duty of all. The common privilege of our generation is to smash Hitlerism, which means smashing all the ignorance and bigotry and fear and want upon which Hitlerism thrives, and to leave for our children a world in which all of them can begin to enjoy the fruits of constructive labor in dignity, freedom, and peace.

Seattle, Wash. Hugh DeLacy.

(President, Washington Commonwealth Federation, Chairman, American Committee for Protection of Foreign-Born)

To New Masses: My views on discrimination against any minority group because of race, religion, color, or national origin are, I believe, pretty well known by this time. I recently enunciated to the staff of the United Employment Service for New York state, which as part of the War Manpower Commission is charged with the mobilization of manpower for war production, an unequivocal statement giving the official policy of the organization on discrimination.

To this I might add my personal comment that at a time when we have all agreed that this is an "all-over" war, where every ounce of strength and spirit of every American is needed to guarantee success, we cannot justify any measures or steps which will prevent a single person from contributing towards that success.

New York. Anna M. Rosenberg.

(Regional Director, War Manpower Commission)

To New Masses: My attitude toward this war is accentuated by the fact that I am a mother with a son in the service. Naturally, along with the thousands of other mothers whose sons are fighting in this war, I hope for a complete and early victory for the Allied cause.

I have always tried to consider this war in its widest aspects. The sacrifices that our soldiers have made and will continue to make will not be empty if our statesmen will only accept the true implications of the war we are waging. They cannot continue to stall on such issues as Indian freedom and the extension of full democratic rights to the American Negro and remain honest to their pledge of a free world.

The American Negroes, along with all other persecuted people, are now awakening. They realize the past failures of our leaders and therefore are intensely interested in the possibility and the fulfillment of a just and lasting peace.

New York. Bessye J. Bearden.

(President of the Consolidated Housewives League)

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IS THERE ANOTHER GERMANY?

What about the nation of Goethe and Beethoven? Has Hitler captured the whole people? What Clifton Fadiman and others think. Shall we differentiate? A discussion of the "hate controversy."

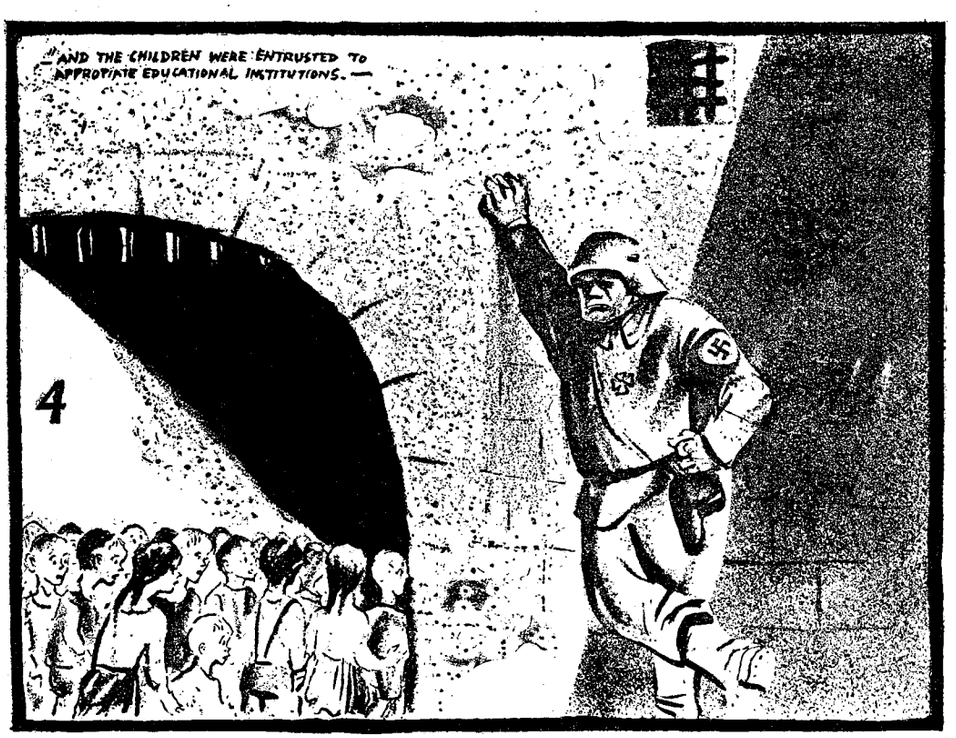
I AWAIT with interest Clifton Fadiman's reply to the "Open Letter" addressed to him last week by Norman Cousins, editor of *The Saturday Review of Literature*. Fadiman should take this opportunity to clarify his provocative remarks at a recent meeting of the PEN Club. Press reports of this meeting of writers indicate that Fadiman started a battle royal when he suggested that the German people as a people must be regarded as the scourge of civilization. Just how far his reflections on this subject have driven the critic I cannot say. Norman Cousins, for one, feels that "unwittingly and unintentionally" Fadiman played into the hands of those who believe that "militarism and barbarism are boiling in the blood of every German, and have been boiling there for two thousand years."

This is a serious issue. In England an influential school of thought led by Robert Vansittart holds that it is "suicidal sentimentalism" to differentiate between the German people and their Hitlerite rulers. And I believe it is true that the more deeply we in this country become involved in the actualities of war, the more powerful is the pull toward a totalized and simplified conception of the enemy. The Vansittart line cannot easily be dismissed. It is extremely persuasive to peoples that have had to fight, within one generation, two wars against an aggressive German state. A racist approach to social reality, particularly in moments of crisis, has a vital appeal, as Hitler so well knows and as our native barbaric movements from the Know-Nothing and Ku Klux Klan adventures up to the Christian Front have attempted to demonstrate. That by and large the Germans have always been Huns and that they will continue to be Huns until they are exterminated or socially castrated is an idea that is gaining currency. The Vansittart movement in America is gaining, not losing strength.

Emil Ludwig has begun to spread this poison. He envisages an endless future in which Germany will be supervised and disciplined by armies of occupation. The Germans, he says, must never be allowed to rule themselves. Similarly, we are being told more and more frequently that Versailles was an act of weakness on the part of the Allies; we should have been tougher with the German people; we should have demanded more reparations, more indemnities; and we should never have removed the occupation forces. And now Ernest Hemingway thunders that "The answer to the Nazi claim that Germans are a superior race and other races shall be slaves is to say, and mean it, 'We will take your race and wipe it out.'" He does not "advocate" sterilization, but "it is the only ultimate settlement."

This tough-guy stuff is defended by the Vansittart mentality on two grounds. One is that the historical and psychological facts prove that the worst features of Nazism have always been inherent in the character of Germany as a nation and of the German as an individual. The second is that it is tactically shrewd, in total war, to direct your propaganda against an undifferentiated mass rather than to muddle the issue with distinctions.

In support of the historical arguments, books have appeared, more in England than here so far, which by a one-sided selection of facts seem to build an irrefutable case against the Germans as Germans. Reading these "an-



Are these drawings too "rough" on the Axis? We don't think so; you don't think so; and William Gropper, who drew them, certainly doesn't. But they were rejected by the governmental agency which commissioned them with a request that the faces be "altered." The Graphic Arts Division of the Office of War Information, then a part of Archibald MacLeish's Office of Facts and Figures, informed Gropper that "Mr. MacLeish thought it was too grotesque and that people would not believe it." "What do they want us to do?" Gropper asks. "Handle the enemy with silk gloves?" The Rockefeller committee has bought the rights to the Lidice pamphlet in which these drawings appear, and will publish a large edition in Spanish and Portuguese for Latin America.

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chologies of the German war spirit," one is reminded of a certain type of argumentation in the slavery controversies of the forties and fifties. One scholar would prove, chapter and verse, that the Bible sanctioned slavery, only to be refuted by another scholar who would prove, chapter and verse, that the Bible condemned slavery. Neither side was dismayed, for both types of evidence were abundantly there. If one wishes to ignore the Germany of Goethe and Beethoven, Hegel and Kant, Lessing and Schiller, Marx and Engels, Thaelmann and Niemoeller, one can build up a case that Bismarck and Treitschke, Hitler and Goering represent German culture and German ideals. And then one can proceed to argue, as Vansittart indeed does, that the Germans today not only have the government they deserve, but the government which is the "best expression" of the German character and German history, the ideally representative government in short.

This is of course precisely the reasoning of Hitler, if this logic, based on the annihilation of facts, may be called reasoning. For Hitler too begins by blotting out one side, the noble side, of the German past, reviling it as "non-German." And he too is then free to proclaim himself as the embodiment of the German character. Indeed, the Vansittart "anthologies of the German war spirit" would make eminently suitable textbooks in Hitler's mind-warping schools.

ON THE other hand, it would be a tragic blunder to ignore the traditional potency of that other side of Germany which Hitler celebrates. For it is a fact—and we must really grasp it—that "Hitlerism was not conjured up by a sorcerer; it has a long anguishing history behind it." In these words, the German Marxist Peter Wieden reminds us that while Hitlerism is the direct and most extreme expression of reactionary German imperialism, "the specific features of this German imperialism, its inordinate brutality, aggressiveness and degeneration, are to a certain extent explained by the peculiar historical development of the German nation, by that 'national misfortune' to which Marx and Engels referred on more than one occasion." In the preface to *The Peasant War in Germany,* Engels wrote, "The German people have also their revolutionary tradition." But owing to the specific conditions of Germany's historical development—the late emergence of the German people as a nation, the late development of German capitalism, and other circumstances which Wieden analyzes in his brilliant historical essay—it was not revolution but reaction that at every decisive point gained the upper hand in Germany. Where England and France solved the maturing problems of national and social development by the bourgeois-democratic revolution, every democratic upsurge of the German people had its bitter reactionary aftermath.

The German nation, says Wieden, stands at the crossroads of history. There is no pollution in German society that cannot be cleansed by the people "by a mighty popular insurrection and by real national action . . . ending the war by overthrowing the Nazi band and reestablishing the trust of other nations." It is the German people who must and will wrest its fate from the hands of reaction "and take things into its own hands." It is clear, I think, that with the decisive cracking of Hitlerite power, with the destruction of the social base of fascism, that other side of Germany, so long thrust into the dark, will assert itself together with other emancipated peoples.

It is often argued that only "sentimentalists," people who continue to think in "old terms," any longer distinguish between the Germans as a people and the Hitlerite tyranny. "Wait until you're actually up against that war machine," I have been told. "You'll get these distinctions beaten out of you in a hurry." I think that the answer has been given in unmistakable terms not by the Ludwigs and Hemingways and Fadimans, but by the greatest of modern realists. Again and again Stalin has emphasized this distinction in the course of the war. In his Order of the Day of Feb. 23, 1942, Stalin said: "It is very likely that the war for liberation of the Soviet land will result in ousting or destroying Hitler's clique. We should welcome such an outcome. But it would be ridiculous to identify Hitler's clique with the German people and the German state. History shows that Hitlers come and go, but the German people and the German state remain."

The strength of the Red Army, Stalin added, "lies in the fact that it does not and cannot entertain racial hatred for other peoples, including the German people, that it has been brought up in the spirit of the equality of all peoples and races, in the spirit of respect for the rights of other peoples." Stalin attacked the "stupid lie and witless slander" of the foreign press which sometimes prattles that "the Soviet people hate the Germans just because they are Germans, that the Red Army exterminates German soldiers just because they are Germans, because it hates everything German. . . ." "Certainly," said the Soviet leader, "the Red Army must annihilate the German fascist occupants, since they wish to enslave our motherland. . . . The Red Army annihilates them not because of their German origin but because . . . the Red Army, like the army of any other people, is entitled and bound to annihilate the enslavers of its motherland, irrespective of their national origin."

The aim of the Soviet Union, Stalin reemphasized in his November 7 speech, is to destroy the Hitlerite state, not Germany; the Hitlerite army, not the German people. To crush "the hated 'new order in Europe' and to punish its builders" is the task of the United Nations.

This clear and consistent distinction is precisely what Hitler fears, whether it be made outside or within Germany. The argument that it is "good propaganda" to instil hate of the German people as a people is not only false, but terribly dangerous. For Hitler and Goebbels are constantly telling the Germans that when the Nazis go down, the German people go down; and there is nothing Hitler likes better than to quote the Vansittart view to show what is in store for "all" Germans if they should get rid of him.

As Thomas Mann has pointed out, every word in the expression "National Socialist Workers Party" is a lie. But the biggest lie, and the most successful one, is in the first word. For the Nazi beasts wear a national mask in order to justify their crimes to the German people in whose interests they pretend to speak and act. It is lunacy for us to tell either ourselves or the Germans that Hitler does indeed serve the interests of Germany. It is common sense to rip the "nationalist" mask from fascism. Our propaganda should expose the evil myth that Nazism represents Germany's best interests, drive home the truth that Hitler brigandage has brought the German people to the brink of disaster.

NOR should we follow a divided policy. We must convince ourselves of the same truth we preach to the Germans. We cannot tell Germans over the radio that we do make distinctions at the very moment that we whip ourselves into a frenzy of Vansittartism at home. We fight with the Germany of liberation against the Germany of despotism, just as we fight with Free France against the France of Laval.

But this, it may be objected, may take the fury out of our fight, may cause us to soften the blow against the enemy. The contrary is true, as the Soviet armies have valiantly demonstrated to a world beginning to express its gratitude in action. For a democratic people cannot fight a racialist war. Our heart is gone if our perspective is the "sterilization" of a whole people; not only the heart of our humanity, but the heart of our fight. We cannot fight effectively for Hitlerian ends, even if we would do so. Hemingway may be able to fight to "wipe out a race," but most of his fellow-Americans cannot join him. Our strength too, like the strength of the Red Army, must lie in the fact that we do not and cannot "entertain racial hatred for other peoples, including the German people," to repeat Stalin's words.

Yet this very fact must give edge to our properly directed hatred. There are those who say that we should not hate at all. They say that once hate is generated it is inevitably undisciplined, moving away from its original object and flooding areas where it does not properly belong. Or they say that hate is an unseemly emotion; that it is immoral; that it is self-destructive. And the debate continues to rage in literary circles—at the very PEN meeting to which I have alluded—as to whether the writer ought to stimulate hatred of the enemy.

The most appalling thing about this debate so far is that it reflects an absence of hate against the Axis agencies of destruction. If we really hated, we would not talk so much about whether it is "desirable" to hate. Only

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if one is imaginatively as well as physically removed from the realities of this war can one speculate so academically. The defenders of Stalingrad, of Guadalcanal, of China, have a burning hatred for the enemy. In the very speeches in which Stalin so patiently distinguishes between the German people as a people and the Nazi invaders, his hatred for the cannibal Hitler is keen as a Cossack sword.

General McNair said the other day that we must kill or be killed, and only a person with strong suicidal impulses would disagree as he looks over the German and Japanese military machines. But those who tell us to kill "without hate" are actually the ones who preach an immoral doctrine. What is unseemly in this war is not the emotion of hate, but its absence. And if there has been any danger in this war, it is not that we have hated too much and in too many directions, but that we have allowed a "non-hate" psychology blind us to the actual evils of fascism: the mutilated bodies and devastated homes of the helpless and the innocent in virtually every country in Europe and Asia.

Hate and love are closely related emotions. If we do not love deeply enough, we cannot truly hate that which destroys what we love. That is why it would be a mistake for writers to place the question simply in terms of generating hate. In deepening our love for our country, our democratic traditions, our own people, and our allies, writers will at the same time be deepening our hate for the enemy. And it is equally true that in deepening our understanding of that other Germany which Nazism has bloodied and befouled, we shall fight all the harder, knowing that this is not a war for the extinction of peoples but for the extinction of peoples' oppressors.

I hope that this will be the upshot of Clifton Fadiman's reply to the editor of *The Saturday Review of Literature*. These issues cut deeply into the nature of any writing that is done during this war. We dare not think lazily about them.

Books in Review

Unsung History

THE LITTLE PEOPLE, *by Albert Halper. Harper. $2.50.*

ALBERT HALPER'S position by this time is secure, as a novelist with something to say who says it better than most. In this, his fifth novel, the author presents a backstairs view of one of those swank establishments which sell furs, haberdashery, and headgear for ladies and gentlemen: a sort of Chicago Bergdorf, Finchley, and Wanamaker's capsuled in one.

And who are "the little people" whose unsung histories are chronicled here? Al, the undernourished elevator operator who "always gets the dirty end of it" and hides his heart under a flow of wisecracks; Oscar the hatter, loyal to his sick wife, who dreams of some day breaking out of the basement into freedom

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Alice D. Snyder on *Writers in Crisis;* Lyle Downing on *The Dynamics of Industrial Democracy;* Alan R. Sweezy on *Strategy for Democracy;* Oliver Shule Loud on *The Road We Are Traveling;* Frank L. Harrison on *Ill Fares the Land;* Bernhard J. Stern on *Recent Books on the Jew.*

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with a little hole-in-the-wall hat-cleaning business of his own; Bob, the Negro porter; John Narhigian, gray-haired excitable Armenian shipping clerk who presides over the basement and has loaned money to a rascally cousin; Roosty the youthful, miserable little package-wrapper, day-dreaming of feminine legs passing along the street pavement above his head. They are all those who do not come in contact with the public directly in the retail business of selling furs, hats, and haberdashery, or do so only in the most menial capacities; those indeed whose narrow world of basement air, dingy rooming houses, and dancehall recreation fronts on, but never meets, the bright comfortable realm trodden by the store's well dressed clientele.

Despite some slowness in getting under way the story picks up both unity and intensity after the first seventy pages; and from there on it is Halper at his best, a mature, hard-hitting, sensitive, and poetically tender Halper who has tightened his style and freed himself from the tag mannerisms which marred his earlier work.

Halper's sympathies are always with the underdog, and in this book it is apparent that without sentimentality he has tried to do what Mrs. Roosevelt once described as the greatest contribution fiction writers of today can make, in showing the fortunate third in possession of security how the other two-thirds live without it. Certainly, no one would quarrel with this aim. Yet it is true that sheer human interest and pathos may sometimes overbalance, or limit, the author's penetration of his subject matter.

Today, in the United States, where some 10,000,000 men and women are organized in AFL and CIO unions, how is it possible to write of the lives, the hopes and failures and frustrations of human beings forming a part of the working class world without so much as mentioning a union? No one would ask for a return to a certain type of strike novel of depression years with its structural and stylistic crudities; but the fact remains that no novel of today dealing with working class characters can actually avoid all reference to labor unions, even though the characters themselves may know little of organization but live like moles burrowing in underground darkness; an author cannot slight his role of interpreter as well as narrator.

Surely Oscar with his rugged intelligence, deep sympathies, and strong sense of human brotherhood, somewhere in his experience would have encountered, or at least have heard of the benefits to the workingman of collective bargaining? One wonders, too, whether Oscar's petty bourgeois yearnings for independence have not also blinded him to the probability that his venture into proprietorship, had it come to pass, would turn out to be as short-lived as that of the jeweler who preceded him in the vacant store?

Truly it begins to seem as if the cards are cruelly and unduly stacked against the little people when Al, stumbling along in the snowy night, at last rediscovers the yellow door only to find the girl has given up waiting and got-

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ten married the day before to another fellow. Why couldn't the discovery of the door have come sooner, just as well as later? This, and the whole business of losing the address, seems manipulated; whereas, the bursting of Oscar's dream of going into business carries greater conviction, because it rests not wholly on pure accident and mischance.

In a narrative which has such a great number of characters, the fact that each one of them stays with the reader right through to the end is itself indication of the author's artistic power. Nevertheless, one wants to see a talent as vigorous as Halper's achieve complete realism—in treating the little people to a break once in a while!

LILLIAN GILKES.

A Justice Who Dissented

THE BRANDEIS GUIDE TO THE MODERN WORLD, *edited by Alfred Lief. Little, Brown. $2.75.*

SOME years ago Alfred Lief did an excellent job of making a compilation of the social and economic views of Mr. Justice Brandeis as expressed in his judicial opinions. He has here undertaken a similar though far more ambitious project. From Brandeis' personal conversations, private letters, public addresses, magazine articles, statements before legislative committees, legal briefs, and judicial opinions, he has culled what appear to him to be the significant thoughts and expressions of opinion essential to an understanding of the man. In contrast to the earlier book, only a few selections have judicial opinions as their source.

To most lawyers today Brandeis is best known for his accomplishments as a justice of the United States Supreme Court. When he retired in February 1939, he had been a member of the Court for twenty-three years. He had sat in cases which had their roots in the first world war, the great boom of the twenties and the correspondingly great depression of the thirties, and in the political and economic upheaval which goes under the name of the New Deal. During most of these years he fought side by side with Holmes in leading a valiant minority which sought to rescue some bits of social legislation from the deathlike grip of a reactionary court. "Holmes and Brandeis, JJ., dissenting" was the fighting slogan for a whole generation of lawyers. During these years, too, he sought to impress upon his colleagues the necessity of avoiding decision-making in the mental vacuum of *a priori* reasoning; instead, he urged upon them a technique of deciding cases, and especially constitutional cases, against a background of economic realities, institutional behavior, and social change. It was Brandeis' historic function to breathe a new life into the law by bringing it into closer touch with life itself.

It is but natural, therefore, that the years which Brandeis spent upon the bench should dim the memory of an earlier period of his life when, as an advocate, he stood in the forefront of the struggle against concentration of

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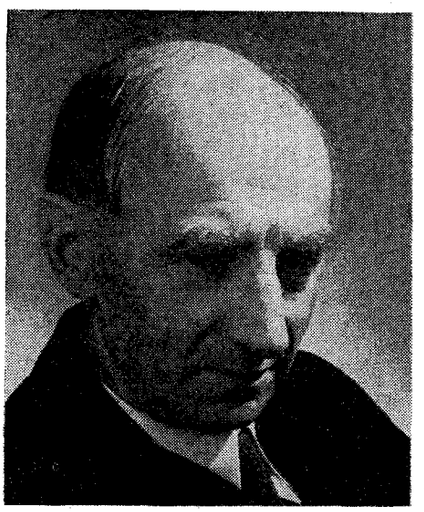

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power and privilege. These were the years (1890-1910) which saw the rise of powerful vested interests and the expropriation of the country's resources under the buccaneer flag of *laissez faire*. The liberals of that day countered with populism, muckraking, and trust-busting, and Brandeis joined them in their attack on corrupt corporations and politicians. The list of his achievements is a long one. He battled for good government, fought against abuses in the granting of public franchises, sought utility rates which should be fair to both consumer and corporation, participated in labor struggles as a representative of the people, served as counsel in many cases in which social legislation was under attack, revealed the tremendous concentration of power in insurance companies, and fathered the system of savings bank insurance in which the state of Massachusetts pioneered. It was but fitting that Brandeis should become known throughout the country as the "people's attorney."

If this book does nothing more, it serves to remind us that these were the formative years of Brandeis' thinking. Selection after selection is noted as having been taken from something Brandeis said or wrote prior to 1916. It is clear that it was the advocate who determined what the judge would one day say.

Unfortunately the book suffers from the methods used to present its material. Ideas and opinions have been plucked from time and space and set down with only the alphabetizing of topics to provide some measure of coherency. Thus isolated from the life and reality which called them forth, the opinions, no matter how well expressed, are but the skeletons of their true selves. Indeed, the failure of the editor to project the ideas upon the background of events which formed them constitutes a singular departure from Brandeis' own technique of thought.

Nor has any attempt been made to show a possible change or progression of ideas. We cannot be certain that any particular thought represents Brandeis' final word on the subject. For example, Brandeis is known as an advocate of decentralization not only with respect to business but with respect to government as well. In fact he has been charged with carrying the doctrine of states rights far beyond the necessities of the present day. Did his opinions remain unchanged under the impact of the depression and the inadequacy of the individual states to cope with problems which refused to be limited by geography? What happened to those opinions on decentralization when the federal government attempted to put into effect remedies on a nationwide scale? No answer is provided to this question, nor to many more of a similar nature that might be asked.

Briefly, this is but a footnote approach to an understanding of what Brandeis thought. Even so short a biographical sketch as preceded Lief's prior book adds more to our knowledge of the man and his ideas than do these selections.

EDWARD CHRISTIE.

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THE WAR FILM: AN EXAMINATION

Has it done its job? What Lowell Mellett thinks. Criticism and self-criticism. "Hollywood is getting closer to the real thing . . ." says Howard Dietz of MGM.

THE National Board of Review of Motion Pictures' annual meeting recently came almost as a deliberate answer to the general clamor for an evaluation of war films. The most conspicuous films are always the full-length entertainment features; in justifiable distress over the shoddy quality of many of these, critics of the films often tend to overlook the admirable documentary and educational work being done in the short subject field by the government and by Hollywood in cooperation with the government. This work was thoroughly surveyed at the conference. It is encouraging to learn, for instance, that Frank Capra is making a series of educational films out of material collected everywhere in the United Nations—England, China, Russia, India, Africa. It is good to hear (from Capt. Leonard Spigelgass) that the War Department, which began with technical films designed to win battles, is going on to informational films designed to win the war—films explaining the nature of the people's war, its problems and its aims. It is also worthwhile to listen while the low level of fiction-films about the war is analyzed and promise of amendment is made for the future.

True, some of the spokesmen for the film industry showed signs of wanting to evade criticism. They could point proudly to the magnificent record of the theaters in collecting scrap metal, in selling stamps and bonds; they could be legitimately exultant over the herculean efforts of picture personalities to bring the war home to the nation. Of their actual product it was less easy to be proud. Maj. Albert Warner, for instance, was perfectly justified in citing Warners' splendid pre-war anti-fascist record. But when the studio that once made *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* can find only one recent film to boast of —*Yankee Doodle Dandy*—there is occasion for soul-searching.

Lowell Mellett, Chief of the OWI Motion Picture Bureau, addressed the conference's session on "The Movies as Education in Wartime," and provided a sharp analysis of the wartime achievements of the industry. Mr. Mellett's realization of the need for adult films, it seems to us, was unduly tempered at first by a too ready acceptance of some of Hollywood's old alibis. Admitting the existence of criticism, he nevertheless goes on to rationalize some film absurdities:

"Let's put in the plea of guilty first. . . . The movies are guilty of exaggeration. They exaggerate our orneriness and our vulgarity. But they exaggerate also in the opposite direction. By the skillful use of make-up, lighting, and other tricks of the trade, they make our heroes look handsomer, braver, nobler than any mortal man ever would dare to be on the public streets, and our heroines—every one of them a warm-hearted soldier boy's dream of loveliness.

"So the movie-makers are guilty on this count. So are our book publishers . . . our radio stations . . . our newspapers. . . . But it is the American way of life to give the people pretty much what the people want."

It seems to me that the assumption that the people really want the sort of movies we're getting invalidates Mr. Mellett's argument. The fact is that to all people, and especially to people under the strain of a war, entertainment is nearly as necessary as bread. Your bread may be moldy, full of weevils or tree-bark; it may be the horrible ersatz bread that the people of France are getting, but if it is all you have you will eat it. And the same goes for your movies. Especially is this true of the boys in army camps here and abroad, whose restricted and arduous daily life leaves them especially eager for entertainment.

Again, Mr. Mellett defends film plots:

"I find that Hollywood is making hundreds of pictures this year, as in other years. They are, for the most part, very much the same sort of pictures we've been paying our money to see in the past. Thrilling adventures, cops and robbers, horse operas, society dramas of misunderstood women and weak men . . .

More winners in the United Hemisphere poster contest. Jose Roberto Gayoso of Buenos Aires (left) won second place in the Latin American group. Third prize in the US-Canadian group (center) went to Harold Barnett, New York City. Oscar Fetellen, also of Buenos Aires, took third prize in the Latin American group.

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slapstick comedies, song-and-dance shows, and Boy Meets Girl. . . . The Boy does meet The Girl, doesn't he? . . . Why shouldn't the movies present it on the screen, from now on forever? It always has been one of the important facts of life and surely always will be.

"Hollywood for the most part is making the same kind of pictures it has made in the past, the kind that have proved so acceptable to the people of the United States and the rest of the world."

Now, nobody objects to Boy meeting Girl, as long as they are a real boy and a real girl in a real world. The trouble is that film versions of the subject often were more like Tyrannosaurus Meets Diplodocus, or, to borrow from Aesop, Wolf Meets Lamb. What another speaker, Mr. Howard Dietz of MGM, stigmatized as "love in a vacuum" has contributed not only to the inanity of many movies but also to the romantic miseducation of many real boys and girls.

THE last statement quoted above is not quite accurate. So far from acceptable have Hollywood films often been in the past that friendly foreign countries sometimes barred them, the foreign market was dwindling fast even before the war, and here at home the last few pre-war years were one long howl from the box-office. Exhibitors were forced to give us double features, Screeno games with enormous prizes, silverware, chinaware, a month's rent, or nice shiny new automobiles (with tires and everything!) to get us into the theater at all. Nor is it entirely accurate to say that this year's films are the same as in the past. On the whole, they are worse.

On this point it may be well to refer to Mr. Dietz' speech, which has some apologies to offer. "Many of the stars and others have gone into the service. . . . Much of the footage that we have shown was actually shot before we ourselves were in the war. . . . The tendency is to judge the standard of motion pictures by the low average and to dismiss the very good ones as exceptional or accidents. Actually, it is the exceptions that make an art. . . ." But it is the low average that we pay for at the box-office.

These necessary objections do not reflect on the value of the rest of the discussions. Where both Mr. Mellett and Mr. Dietz are on firm ground is in their analysis of pictures *about* the war. These, demanding as they do a rapid adjustment to new problems and new ways of thought, have much exercised the film industry.

"Unhappily [the quotation is from Mellett] many of these are not good pictures, for competition between producers to gratify this natural interest of movie-goers was so great in the beginning that a lot of pictures were written, produced, and distributed, before the authors and producers had time to figure out what the war is all about, what it means for a great democracy to commit itself to war, particularly a war that involves every other country, large or small, on the globe, every phase of life in our own country. We got a stream of pictures that had no more relation to reality than the newspaper comic strips, pictures that were calculated to confirm our naive notion that all Germans are either super-spies, masters of scientific warfare, or Hitler-heiling blockheads; that all Japanese are buck-toothed saboteurs in horn-rimmed glasses, and that any American war correspondent, given the aid of a good-looking blonde, is able to handle the entire situation, leaving the rest of us little to do but sit in the theaters three or four hours a day and cheer. Unfortunately, this war isn't that simple and anything that is done to encourage people to think it is, is a very great disservice to the country."

With this I can have no quarrel, having said it once a week myself for lo, these many months. Mr. Mellett goes on to guarantee amendment:

"Fortunately, there is reason to believe that this phase of wartime movie-making has pretty well burned itself out. More and more the movie-makers are striving to be sure that any picture that touches on the war or any part of the war effort shall be based on the truth or the closest approximation of the truth they can achieve. Further, they are striving to make sure that if a picture does not contribute anything to the war effort, at least it shall not in any way be detrimental. From using the war merely as a theme to help the picture business, they have come closer and closer to full-time use of the pictures to help win the war."

And Mr. Dietz:

"Hollywood is getting closer to the real thing and from here on, judge every war film from Hollywood with whatever severity you choose. They will be darned good."

This is heartening information, and there are indications that we may take it at face value; that the films are really on the upgrade. It is, therefore, all the more startling to remember that it is Mr. Dietz' own Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer which clings stubbornly to the dissension-breeding *Tennessee Johnson;* still more, that a Hollywood producer named Harry Scherman has chosen this of all times to project a remake of *Birth of a Nation*! It is hardly necessary to review the record of this all-time masterpiece of hate and intolerance; suffice it that some members of southern audiences used to give the rebel yell when the "heroic" Klan swept into view on the screen, then go out and look for a lynching tree. The film is a deliberate incitement to anti-Negro violence. A good way of helping the war effort in the films just now would be to send Mr. Mellett, in his capacity as Chief of the Motion Picture Bureau of the OWI, a storm of letters protesting against these two pictures.

OTHER points made at the conference must not be overlooked. In discussing the OWI's film production Mr. Mellett was on his own ground, and presented an admirable survey of war newsreels and OWI educational shorts. Salvage, the role of the farmer, the story of children in wartime, the story of nutrition, the story of transportation, all are being recorded on the screen with the American people as actors. As Mellett pointed out, this is at once living history, vital education, and the finest of war effort. Captain Spigelgass' report, quoted earlier, supplemented the OWI with the War Department's production. The problem of the moment, it appears, is for Hollywood to attain the government's level; and the conference is a hopeful beginning. Mr. Mellett, for instance, came to grips with one of the worst of old film abuses from a new angle. Speaking of the double feature, resented but endured by most film exhibitors, he says:

"Naturally we would like to see the double feature eliminated, if only for the duration of the war. There is only so much screen time in a day, only so much time for the presentation of the best and most helpful entertainment and for the presentation of vital information. We frankly want the small part of the total time that is required to deliver this information. Double features make it difficult to provide this time.

"There is another reason, and that is this: Entertainment is essential, but life cannot be all entertainment, not in these times. For its benefit to national morale, entertainment can reach a point of diminishing return. The habit of sitting three or four or even more hours, with one's mind afloat in a fictional world, hardly equips the American population for the serious job of real life. That way lies degeneration rather than growth. And we must grow."

Implicit in that statement lies the entire indictment of escapist films which Mr. Mellett did not quite make explicit in the earlier part of his speech. And there may also be drawn from it a slogan in which the film public, not to mention the film reviewers, will heartily concur: Let us have fewer and better movies!

JOY DAVIDMAN.

Without Substance

Mr. Barry disappoints with his new play.

AS ITS first production of the season, the Theater Guild is offering Katharine Hepburn and Elliott Nugent in *Without Love,* by Philip Barry (at the St. James). A play and production less grateful to this autumn's theatergoers could hardly have been chosen. Those who want amusement, gaiety, or fun from the theater, and who may have come to expect them from Mr. Barry, are in for a rude shock. Those who want substance and are optimistic enough to expect it from Mr. Barry will find their more reasonable doubts rapidly confirmed. Those who want merely to see Miss Hepburn in the flesh will, of course, be able to do so; but if their feeling for her in the movies has

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been warm, they will do well to preserve it by steering clear of the St. James.

Without Love gives us a glimpse of life in Washington's government circles that is odd, to say the least. Strange situations have undoubtedly come into being in the nation's capital, but none could be much stranger or sillier than what happens to Mr. Barry's characters. The daughter of a former senator, widowed and lonely, with time and a large house on her hands, proposes platonic marriage to a young Irish-American who has returned (in 1940) from some years in Eire, with no money but a mission.

The mission is quite vague, but it seems to include setting the United States government, Great Britain, and the Irish straight on their duties to each other and the world and then—to go on—setting the world straight. Since both the hero and the heroine are "through with love" because of too much of a good thing on the one hand and too little on the other—and since the hero needs a locale to work from, the marriage is contracted on the terms proposed. Time passes. Miss Hepburn assists her husband's mission no end—mainly by making dates for him with people he cannot get to meet by himself. And all is well—but is it? No. As you have guessed, "without love," nothing, not even a mission, is any good. The hero is only a little slower than the heroine to catch onto Mr. Barry's fact of life, and for both the platonic becomes the real thing.

Mr. Barry used to write comedy that, however limited in dimension, was smooth, technically skillful, well plotted, and his comment on the life he sketched was often witty. *Without Love* is badly plotted and awkwardly written around a stock situation that totally lacks the zest, flair, and piquancy that are indispensable to Mr. Barry's kind of playwriting. One can leave aside the question whether the old formula, with which the author had some success, will hold up in a different decade from the one he was most at home in. For the formula of *Without Love* is by no means up to the author's earlier ones, and no real comparison is possible.

It seems that Mr. Barry, writing in this (or the last) year no longer knows what to do with himself *or* his old formulas. That is his problem. Meanwhile, it can only be urged and implored that he avoid expressing himself on political, national, or international topics until he has a better notion what they mean. *Without Love* is cluttered with insufferable and inexcusable political comment upon a very real world.

It cannot be promised that the acting or staging of this play will excuse its production. Miss Hepburn has an elastic-band quality which, on the stage, reaches the snapping point too frequently for comfort. Now and then she relaxes for a split second and looks like a nice girl; but this is not acting. Mr. Nugent seems bored, as well he might be. Audrey Christie and Neil Fitzgerald give the most lifelike performances.

HELEN CLARE NELSON.

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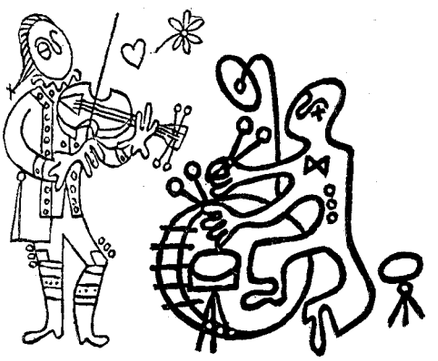

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